

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



3 1761 05518747 0

AS
122
.D813
v.36
no.6
SMC



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

June, 1922

C 6

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

VOLUME XXXVI, SECTION C, No. 6

THOMAS F. O'RAHILLY
IRISH POETS, HISTORIANS, AND JUDGES
IN ENGLISH DOCUMENTS, 1538-1615



DUBLIN
HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO.
LONDON: WILLIAMS & NORGATE

1922

Price One Shilling and Sixpence

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

In the year 1902 it was resolved to number in consecutive order the Volumes of the PROCEEDINGS of the Academy, and consequently attention is requested to the following Table:—

CONSECUTIVE SERIES.		ORIGINAL NUMERATION.	
VOLUME	I. (1886-1840) is	VOLUME	I. 1st Ser. Sci., Pol. Lit. & Antiqq.
"	II. (1840-1844) "	"	II. " "
"	III. (1845-1847) "	"	III. " "
"	IV. (1847-1850) "	"	IV. " "
"	V. (1850-1853) "	"	V. " "
"	VI. (1853-1857) "	"	VI. " "
"	VII. (1857-1861) "	"	VII. " "
"	VIII. (1861-1864) "	"	VIII. " "
"	IX. (1864-1866) "	"	IX. " "
"	X. (1866-1869) "	"	X. " "
"	XI. (1870-1874) "	"	I. 2nd Ser. Science.
"	XII. (1875-1877) "	"	II. " "
"	XIII. (1888) "	"	III. " "
"	XIV. (1884-1888) "	"	IV. " "
"	XV. (1870-1879) "	"	I. " Pol. Lit. & Antiqq.
"	XVI. (1879-1888) "	"	II. " "
"	XVII. (1888-1891) "	"	I. 3rd Ser. Sci., Pol. Lit. & Antiqq.
"	XVIII. (1891-1893) "	"	II. " "
"	XIX. (1893-1896) "	"	III. " "
"	XX. (1896-1898) "	"	IV. " "
"	XXI. (1898-1900) "	"	V. " "
"	XXII. (1900-1902) "	"	VI. " "
"	XXIII. (1901) "	"	VII. " "
"	XXIV. (1902-1904) :—		

Section A. Mathematical, Astronomical, and Physical Science.

" B. Biological, Geological, and Chemical Science.

" C. Archaeology, Linguistic, and Literature.

" XXV. (1904-5)	}	In three Sections like Vol. XXIV.
" XXVI. (1906-7)		
" XXVII. (1908-9)		
" XXVIII. (1909-10)		
" XXIX. (1910-11)		
" XXX. (1912-13)	}	In three Sections as above.
" XXXI. (Clare Island Survey, 1911-15.)		
" XXXII. (1913-15)		
" XXXIII. (1916-17)		
" XXXIV. (1918-19)		
" XXXV. (1919-20)	}	
" XXXVI. (Current Volume).		

at least four early pedigrees, found in various settings, and thus easily detached. One is from Art Imlech and Bressrig, pre-Celtic gods; the second from a *Siabra*-god Nia Segamon, and two others from Celtic gods. One of these favoured by the MacCarthys in later times is from Allot and Nuada; the other is better attested as archaic. It runs thus in the "Mosaulum Tale":—Lug Feidlech, Nuada Aicnech, Luigthine, Daig, Dergthene (or "Corb Oluim," the first Celtic prince of the later royal line), Oengus Mog Neid, Eoghan Mog Nuadat, and Mais or Oilioll Aulom. The official pedigree gives—Log Feidlech, Lachtaine, Nuada Airgthech, Deirgthine, Deaga, or Ethleann, Lug, Lachtaine, Nuada, Dergthened, Deaga Derg; but it is quite clear that a pedigree of Dergthene, the eponymous of the princes of Mag Femen, Cashel, and the later Thomond, was rejected (probably for its open "paganism") by them and seized by the Corca Laide, who identified its "Daig" or "Deaga" with their own ancestor, Dega or Deda.¹

Other non-Milesian tribes forced Lug into their ancestry, and most probably confused him with earlier gods. Perhaps one of these clumsy compromises identified him as a god of harvests, hill-tops, and human sacrifice with a similar deity, eventually nicknamed "Crom Dubh."

¹ "Mosaulum," Todd Lect., xvi, p. 29; Keating's History, iv, p. 114. The Saltair of Cashel gave "Eithleann, Lug, or Lug Mannrach, Deag mannrach." See Corca Laidhe, p. 25.

NOTE IN PRESS.

As Mr. Dalton's paper on "Cromm Cruaich" only reached me after my essay was in pages, my conclusions are in no sense a reply to or criticism of is monograph.—T. J. W.



VI.

IRISH POETS, HISTORIANS, AND JUDGES IN ENGLISH
DOCUMENTS, 1538-1615.

BY THOMAS F. O'RAHILLY, M.A.

[Read FEBRUARY 27. Published JUNE 30, 1922.]

IN the succession of desperate, if more or less isolated, struggles for national freedom which marks the history of Ireland in the latter half of the sixteenth century, Irish poets, as was natural, are in general found ranged on the side of their country.¹ English writers of the time complain that their poems incited to resistance and rebellion, and tended "for the most parte to the hurte of the English or mayntenance of theire owne lewd libertye." "They seldome use," says Spenser,² "to chuse unto themselves the doinges of good [*i.e.* loyal] men for the ornamentes of theire poems, but whomsoever they finde to be most lycentious of lief, most bolde and lawles in his doinges, most daungerous and desperate in all partes of disobedience and rebellious disposicon, him they sett up and glorifie in theire rymes, him they prayse to the people, and to younge men make an example to followe." In retaliation the English government looked upon the Irish *literati* with particular disfavour, and time and again punitive measures were put in force against such groups of enemies as "rebels, vagabonds, rimers, Irish harpers, bards, and other malefactors." As the conquest proceeded the lot of the harried literary class became more and more desperate, until in the disastrous battle of Kinsale Ireland's literary organization was crushed no less than her political independence.

But, while there is frequent enough denunciation of "rimers" in general, as well as references to the "brehon laws," we seldom find the names of individual Irish men of letters recorded in contemporary English documents. In the following pages I have brought together most of the references I have been able to find to particular poets, historians, and judges, in the hope that

¹ Not that these poets, any more than any other section of the Irish aristocracy of the time, were always animated by motives of pure patriotism or always possessed even a moderate amount of political foresight.

² "View of the State of Ireland," ed. Grosart, pp. 118, 117.

the information I have gleaned concerning them may be of some assistance to future investigators of the literature of this period. My principal source of information has been the Fiants of Elizabeth, in which are preserved the names of tens of thousands of Irishmen to whom "pardons" were granted at various dates, but especially during the years 1599–1603.¹ I have also drawn on the Patent Rolls of James I, which contain many similar pardons granted during the early years of that king's reign. Other documents of the period have also been utilized, particularly in Section III.

Of about fifty individuals, mostly belonging to the period 1570–1603, whom we find described as "rimers" in the Fiants and elsewhere, less than a dozen can at the moment be identified with poets some of whose compositions have come down to our day. Two-thirds of them, it is pretty safe to say, will never be more than mere names to us; their very names in most cases would be for ever unknown were it not for their chance preservation in these English records. Facts like these help us to realize how small a fragment of our literature has survived the wreck of our native culture in the Elizabethan conquest and in the Cromwellian and Williamite re-conquests that succeeded it.

I begin by giving (Section I) the name of everyone whom I find described in the Fiants as "rimer," "bard," "chronicler," or "brehon."

I.

1. "Ferral m^cThomas alias M^cKeoghe, of Donarde, county Dublin, rymor," 16 Apl., 1549 [Fiants Edw. VI, no. 279]. *Fearghal (mac Tomás) Mac Eochadha*, of Donard (*Dún Ard*), Co. Wicklow. A poet of this name, doubtless the same man, has left us a poem on Aodh (mac Seáin) 'O Broin, beginning *Mairg do-ní deimhin dá dhóigh* (H. 1. 14, fo. 84 b; H. 4. 4, p. 51).

2. "Toll O'Molmore m^cKeighe, of Rathtorkyll, county Kildare, rymor, indicted in the xxxiv Henry VIII for stealing one pork, of the price of 5s., belonging to Patrick M^cHwe, of the same place, rymor," pardoned 11 May, 1549 [Fiants Edw. VI, no. 293]. *Tuathal (mac Maolmuire?) Mac Eochadha*,² and *Pádraig Mac Aodha* (or *Mac Eochadha*?). The place seems unidentifiable. In Fiants Eliz. 3146 mention is made of the lands of "Rathnekill alias Rathturkyll," Co. Kildare.

¹ In the following pages, when there is no indication to the contrary, the names taken from the Fiants are those of persons to whom "pardons" were granted. The date (or year) given is the date (or year) of the Fiant, and the number of the Fiant is given in square brackets. The Fiants have been published as appendices to the Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (the Fiants of Edward VI in the 8th Report; those of Elizabeth in the 11th to 18th Reports).

² Cf. a namesake pardoned in 1598, § 14, *infra*, foot-note.

3. "Quin oge M^cCrossan,¹ of Ballym^ccrossan, rymor," 10 June, 1550 [Fiants Eliz., no. 508]. *Eoghan* (or *Eóin*?) 'Og Mac an Chrosdín, of Ballymacrossan, near Geashill, in King's Co.

4. "Shane m^cDoghe M^cKeogho, late of Ballenescorney, co. Dublin, rhymor," 25 Jan., 1570 [no. 1478]. *Seán* (mac Donnchadha?) Mac Eochadha, of Ballinasorney, near Brittas.

5. "William m^cCragh O Hefernan, bard of Rosonyany," 2 Jan., 1572 [no. 1971]. *Uilliam Mac-raith*² 'O Hifearndín, of Rossaneny,³ at Windgap, Co. Kilkenny. For a son of his see next paragraph.

6. "Hennese M^cCragh, son of William M^cCragh O'FERNAN, bard," 12 Jan., 1572 [no. 2063]. *Aonghus Mac-raith* (son of *Uilliam Mac-raith*) 'O Hifearndín. (The only place-name mentioned in this Fiant is Tullaghbroge, i.e. the parish of Tullaghanbrogue, in Co. Kilkenny.)

7. "Talleighney O Mulconery, of Cowlegad, rymor," 12 Jan., 1572 [no. 2042]. *Tuileagna 'O Maoilchonaire*. Although other place-names in this Fiant would point to Co. Kilkenny, it is just possible that "Cowlegad" may be the present tl. of Coolegad, in the par. of Delgany, Co. Wicklow.⁴ But more probably the present poet is to be identified with "Tullegne mc Torne O Mulconere," of Co. Kilkenny, who was pardoned 17 March, 1584 [no. 4341].⁵ This is probably the Tuileagna (son of Torna) 'O Maoilchonaire, who wrote a poem (23 L 17, fo. 152a) in praise of Sir Nicholas Walshe, who was prominent as a judge in Ireland under Elizabeth's government. Tuileagna (or Tuilgne) 'O Maoilchonaire, who in 1603 wrote a genealogical poem on the Leinster families (23 D 5, p. 161), and to whom also is ascribed a poem on the castle of Glashare, Co. Kilkenny (O'Curry in Ac. Cat. 407),

¹ Of this family was Sir Patrick Crosbie, employed by Elizabeth's government, who was "the son of Mac-an-crossan, O'More's Bard, or Rhymer, and the ancestor of the Glandore family and of Crosby of Ardfert, in Kerry."—O'Donovan, "Tribes of Ireland," p. 25.

² Here and in § 6 the use of Mac-raith as a second forename in this family is to be noted. So "Donogh m^cCrahe O Hiffernain, of Tipper, husbandman," in Fiant 6564. The O'Heffernans also used Mac-raith by itself as a forename: see § 10, *infra*. In the Tipperary Hearth-Money Records for 1665-7 I have noted three men called Magrah O'Hiffornane (pp. 116, 65, 121).

³ The only other occurrence of this place-name in the Fiants is in no. 2065 (12 Jan. 1572), in which "John M^cEvard, of Rosoniani," is pardoned. Here "M^cEvard" possibly means no more than "the bard's son."

⁴ In Fiant 6577, which deals with O'Byrne's country, there are five men of this surname ('O Maoilchonaire) pardoned.

⁵ A namesake is mentioned in Fiant 4916 (14th Aug., 1586): "Tulligne O Molconere, of Castleton [*i.e.* Castletown, Queen's Co.], and Dermod O Molconere, of same, husbandmen." Another is "Tullius O Mulconry, of Gort in waga," Co. Galway, 1591 [no. 5617].

is doubtless the same person; as also Tuileagna Ruadh 'O Maoilchonaire,¹ author of a poem on Fiacha (mac Aodha) 'O Broin (H. I. 14, fo. 108a).²

8. "Rory O Kyngy, rymor," 23 Feb., 1573 [no. 2209]. *Ruaidhrí 'O Cionga*, of Co. Westmeath or neighbourhood (Mac Eochagáin's country probably). In an earlier Fiant (no. 59, 1 Apl., 1559) "Rory O Kenga," who may well be the same man, is pardoned as one of the followers of "Brassell Shennaghe, *alias* Foxe, chief of his nation."³

9. "Derbe M'Cragh m'Donogh, of Mountayne castell, yeoman, John m'Enas M'Cragh, rymor," 10 May, 1573 [no. 2272]. *Seán (mac Aonghusa) Mac Craith*, of Co. Waterford.⁴ We find a namesake, who may well be the same man, living at Burges⁵ (near Clogheen, in the south of Co. Tipperary), in 1601, viz., "John m'Enes M'Craghe, of Bureisee" [no. 6564], otherwise "John M'Cragh m'Eneas, of Burgeise, gent." [no. 6565].⁶

10. "Meolmory m'Enish O Hernane, of Sronyll, co. Tipperary, Faraghell m'Meolmory O Hernane, Mac Crah O Hernane, and Aberny O Hernane, of the same, rhymors," 12 Sept., 1577 [no. 3102]. *Fearchar*⁷ (mac *Muolmuire*) 'O *Hifearnáin*,⁸ *Mac-raith 'O Hifearnáin*, and *Aithirne 'O Hifearnáin*, of

¹ To this Tuileagna Ruadh is further ascribed (wrongly?) the poem *Cuir sríon rem chorp, a Choimthe* in O'Con. Don's ms., fo. 56b.

² The name Tuileagna (like Torna) was a very common one in this family, and it is not always easy to discriminate between the different members who bore it. A note in English written by Tully Conry (Tuileagna 'O Maoilchonaire) is preserved in Laud 610 (ZCP. viii. 181). "Tullius Conry" was teacher in the diocese of Clogher early in the seventeenth century (Archiv. Hib. ii, pp. 21, 23, 28). Somewhat later flourished Tuileagna 'O Maoilchonaire, O.S.F., "seancha coitcheann 'Eirenn," whom we find in 1638 criticizing Mícheál 'O Cléirigh's book of genealogies of the Irish kings and saints, and in 1658-9 living in Madrid.

³ An earlier member of this family was Séamas (mac Cairbre) 'O Cionga, scribe of the covenant drawn up in 1526 between Mac Eochagáin and An Sionnach (Misc. Arch. Soc., i, 197).

⁴ From various other Fiants (nos. 2335, 2930, 4795, 5446, and 6481), as well as from the present one, we see that people named M'Cragh lived at Mountaincastle (near Modeligo, Co. Waterford); hence it is very probable that this was also the place of residence of the poet, although the Fiant does not explicitly say so.

⁵ This is the place which is nowadays always assumed to have been the birthplace of Geoffrey Keating. But the assumption seems to rest on no more solid basis than an unsupported assertion of Haliday's; and it is significant that in the seven references to Burges in the Fiant's persons named M'Cragh, O Daly, O Kenedy, and Lonergan are mentioned as residing there, but no one of the name of Keating.

⁶ Among the Mac Craiths of Burges in 1601-2 was "Rorie m'Ea M'Cragh" [nos. 6522, 6583], namesake of a poet attached to the O'Byrnes, who flourished 1579-1597 (O'Gr. Cat. 503, 508).

⁷ The anglicized form would represent **Fearchal*, with dissimilation of the second r.

⁸ The anglicized form here represents a colloquial Irish form of the surname, viz., 'O *Hearnáin* (perhaps < 'O *Hiorthnáin* < 'O *Hithearnáin* < 'O *Hifearnáin*; cf. *árthach*, dial. form of *aithearrach*).

Shronell, two or three miles west of the town of Tipperary. The same, or another, "Oharney O Hiffernan," of "Ballenloghan" (probably Ballinlough, east of Tipperary town), was pardoned in 1587 [no. 5006].

The Shronell district was the principal seat of the 'O Hifearnáin family. In Shronell¹ itself the following members are pardoned in other Fiantis (I omit the surname, which is variously spelled O Hiffernan, O Hirnan, etc.): John, "gentleman," 1577 [no. 3043]; Murrihirtagh m^cRery and Ee m^cMwrihirtig, "kerns," 1577 [no. 3097]; Rorie, "yeoman," 1584 [no. 4526]; Teig, "yeoman," 1585 [no. 4743]; John Eglany [*Seán an Ghleanna* ?], Donogh m^cShane, Eneas fitz John, Mulmorye m^cGillenynneafe, and Ferragher m^cGillenynneafe, 1601 [no. 6490]. See further §§ 15, 16.

The 'O Hifearnáins appear to have been attached to the Earl of Desmond's family. See, for Conchubhar Ruadh 'O Hifearnáin, § 18, *infra*, and, for Mathghamhain 'O Hifearnáin, the poem *Ceist cia do cheinneóchadh dán* (cf. § 15). So, according to depositions made by him in 1591, Muircheartach Liath 'O Hifearnáin acted as messenger between the Earl of Desmond and Miler Magrath (Cal. S. P., 1588-92, pp. 419, 429); and "Moriertaghe Rowe O'Hiffernan, servant and guide to the traitor John of Desmond in his rebellion," was slain in 1580 (*ib.*, p. 286).

11. Grant to Thomas Earl of Ormond of lands, etc., in various counties, and also of "five knights' fees of lands in Tollaleishe, Killagholiaghan, and other towns, which John FitzMorice dwelling in the manor of Claneleis, near the country of Conallaughe, and a certain () O Daley the rymer lately held, with the tithes of the same, Co. Cork,' '10 Dec., 1578 [no. 3513]. The places mentioned are: Tullylease (*Tulach Léis*), in the north of Duhallow, close to the border of Co. Limerick; Killagholehane, the parish in which the village of Broadford, in the south-west of Co. Limerick, is situated; and Cleanglass (*Claonghlais*), adjacent to the last and in the same county. The land referred to was evidently in the Geraldine country, and the O Daley one of the Earl of Desmond's poets.² See further § 50, *infra*.

12. "Meylmorrey m^cTwohill M^c[K]eogh, rymor," 27 Aug., 1582 [no. 4008].³ *Maolmuire* (*mac Tuathail*) *Mac Eochadha*. The same name is given as "Mulmurry m^cToell M^cGeighoe" of "Cullitory" (perhaps Coolatore, near

¹ Here also in the eighteenth century lived the poet Uilliam Dall 'O Hifearnáin (or 'O Hearnáin).

² McKenna in his edition of the poems of Aonghus Fionn (p. vii) quotes this Fiant, and concludes, very rashly, that "the reference here is probably to Aonghus, and we may gather from it that he was born as far back as 1548."

³ Place uncertain. There are only three personal names in this Fiant; the first belongs to Co. Kildare, the second is that of the "rymor," the third belongs to Co. Carlow.

Ferns) in 1587 [no. 5110], and as "Moylemurry m^cTohell M^cKeoghoe," of Pallis, Co. Wexford, in 1601 [no. 6517; see § 14, *infra*]. Cf. also "Mollmory M^cKehughe" in a Co. Wicklow Fiant of 18 Mar., 1582 [no. 3844].

13. "Ouin m^cMolaghlin M^cAogain, brehon," 19 Sept., 1582 [no. 4079]. *Eoghan* (or *Eóin*?) (*mac Maoileachtainn*) *Mac Aodhagáin*, of or near "Kerrucruyn," i.e. Carrowcrin, which is quite close to Duniry, Co. Galway. See further § 28.

14. "Donald McKeogho, son of McKeogho, rymor," 28 April, 1584 [no. 4372]. *Domhnall Mac Eochadha*, son of the chief of his name.¹ There were three poets of this name attached to the O'Byrnes and living about this time, viz., Domhnall Mac E., Domhnall son of Fearganainm Mac E., and Domhnall Carrach Mac E. (see O'Reilly, pp. cxliii-cxlv; Abbott-Gwynn Cat., pp. 47-49; and O'Gr. Cat., pp. 504-514). The following also may be identical with one of these poets: "Donill M^cKehewe," 1582 [no. 4019]; "Donell M^cKeghoe," 1601 [no. 6577]; "Donell M^cKeoghoe" of Fiant 6517, quoted in the next paragraph; and "Donnell M^cLowe O'Chycho" (*sic*), of "Balliboght, near Ballimore," 1603 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ja I, p. 35 b).

In other Fiants we find men of this surname (*Mac Eochadha*) mentioned, some of whom, although the Fiants do not describe them as "rymors," can be identified with known poets. From these Fiants we also infer that this poetic family was settled mainly at "Pallice," i.e. the present townlands of Pallishill, Pallis Lower, and Pallis Upper, in the north of Co. Wexford, about midway between Arklow and Carnew. (a) "Rory M^cEghoe, of Rapiers,² said co. [*i.e.* Wexford], gent., Thomas m^cRory M^cEghoe, of same, John m^cRory M^cEghoe, of same," 1581 [no. 3733]. (b) "Thomas M^cKeogho," of, apparently, "the Pallaice, co. Wexford," "Shane M^cKeoghoe, of Rahin Conogher," "Rory m^cShane M^cKeogho," 1598 [no. 6200]. (c) Farroll m^cLoud M^cKeigho, Lowe m^cFarrell M^cKeigho, Farrell m^cFerrel M^cKeigho, Gillernow m^cLowe M^cKeigho, Thomas m^cFarrell M^cKeigho," 28 May, 1598 [no. 6232]; no place-name mentioned. (d) "Thomas M^cKeoghoe, of Pallice, Lewes M^cKeoghoe, Farreyle m^cFarrell Keoghoe, and Enos O Daylie [see § 31], of same, . . . Fargenanyne M^cKeoghoe, of Pallice, Donell M^cKeoghoe, Dermot m^cDonnell M^cKeoghoe, Teig m^cMoylemurry M^cKeoghoe, Farreyle m^cLowe M^cKeoghoe, Moylemurry m^cTohell M^cKeoghoe [see § 12], Shane m^cRorie M^cKeoghoe, and Tohell M^cKeoghoe, of same," 15 May, 1601 [no. 6517]. (e) "Mulmurrey M^cFerral M^cKeoghe," "Farrale M^cLowe

¹ Place not stated. The nearest place-names in the Fiant belong to Cos. Kildare and Carlow.

² "Rapiers" is now Rathpierce, in the north of Co. Wexford, a little to the east of Pallis.

M^cKeoghoe," and "Shane M^cKeoghoe," all of "Killebane," 3 Mar., 1604 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ja. I, p. 31 b).¹ Among the poets who may be identified in these lists are *Fearghal mac Luighdheach*, *Fearghal 'Og*, *Fearganaim*, *Giollananaomh*, *Rudhraighe*, and *Tomás*; possibly also *Seán mac Fearghail* or *Seán mac Pilip* (see for all these poets H. I. 4 *passim*, and cf. O'Grady Cat., 502, 648).²

15. "Mahon O Hifernan, rimer," 14 May, 1585 [no. 4642]. *Mathghamhain 'O Hifearnáin*. There are no place-names mentioned in this Fiant, but the persons pardoned appear to belong to "co. Cork." This is doubtless the poet of the name who was author of *Ceist, cia do cheinneóchadh dán* and other pieces.³ He may well be identical with the man of the same name whom we find in the Shronell district in other Fiants, thus "Mahon O Hiffernan, of Sronill," 1579 [no. 3547]; "Mahowne O Hiffernan, of Immelid [*i.e.* Emly], husbandman," 1579 [no. 3567]; "Mahowne O Hiffernane, of Latten [Lattin, adjoining Shronell], yeoman," 1587 [no. 5006].⁴

16. "Enis roe O Hiffernan, rymer," 14 May, 1585 [no. 4644]. *Aonghus Ruadh 'O Hifearnáin*. That this poet lived at Shronell⁵ we see from a later Fiant [no. 6565], dated 6 Aug., 1601, in which "Eneas roe O Hiffernan alias O Hiffernane, of Sronell, gentleman," is pardoned, as also "Hugh m^cMurtagh O Hiffernan" and "Murtagh m^cEneas O Heffernan," husbandmen, of the neighbouring townland of Lattin.⁶

17. "Uline O Mulconry, of Clonhy, gentleman, rimor, Gelernuve Keighe, of Clonpluckane, rimor, Ferfesse O Muckory [*sic*], Padine oge O Mulcony [*sic*],

¹ This begins with a pardon to "Phelim M^cFeagh of Ballmacorre" (*i.e.* of Ballinacor), and the only other place-name mentioned is this "Killebane," which is probably Killecavan (*Cill Chaomháin*), tl. and par., close to Pallis, in North Wexford.

² The following names of other members of the Mac Eochadha family may be worth quoting; they all belong to the district made up of Wicklow and portions of the adjoining counties. I omit the surname in each case: Philip and Edmond duff, 1582 [no. 3844]; Shane, 1582 [no. 4019]; Dorren nyne Rorie [*Doireann 'ughean Rudhraighe*], Mulmory m^cTeige, Toole m^cMulmory, James m^cDonogh, Shane m^cWilliam, and Rorie m^cShane, 1598 [no. 6232]; Edmond Lowe ("of Holiwood"), Eniste, Connoghor roe, Mulmore m^cFergananim ("of the Three Castles"), Donogh buy m^cRanall, and Carroll, 1601 [no. 6577].

³ Published in "The Irish Review," Apl., 1912, p. 82; O'Gr. Cat., 392; I.T.S., xx, 114.

⁴ Cf. a later (1641-1652) namesake of the same district in T. O'Donoghue's edn. of P. Haiceud, p. 159.

⁵ The present Fiant (4644) appears to deal with "co. Limerick," but from other Fiants (1576, 3043, 4733) we see that the Shronell district was at this time often regarded as belonging to Co. Limerick instead of to Co. Tipperary.

⁶ The last-named had been already pardoned a few months previously, viz., "Morriertagh m^cEneas O Hiffernan, of Latten" [no. 6490].

of same, rimor," 1 June, 1585 [no. 4678]. *Iollann 'O Maoilchonaire*,¹ of Cloonahee, near Elphin, Co. Roscommon; *Giollarnaomh* (i.e. *Giolla-na-naomh*) *caoch* [*'O Maoilchonaire*], *Fearfeasa 'O M.*, and *Páidín 'Og 'O M.*² "Clonpluckane" (*Cluain Plocáin*,³ FM. iv. 1238) was in Roscommon, but its exact situation has yet to be discovered. In 1583 were pardoned "Brian O Mulconre, of Clonplocan, Moyllon m^cShane M^cPadin, of same" [no. 4240]; the latter evidently stands for *Maoilín 'O Maoilchonaire*, son of *Sedn* and grandson of *Páidín* (probably the *Páidín* who died in 1506). Other members of this family were pardoned in 1590, viz. "Ollishe m^cO [*sic*] Molconnere, of Gortesloghe, Melaughlen, Flarin, Turne, and Feel O Molconnere, of same, Farfasse O Molconnere of Ballekillecomin" [no. 5439], i.e. *Eólas* (?), *Maoileachluinn*, *Flaitírlí*, *Torna*,⁴ *Fitheal*, and *Fearfeasa*; the two place-names are not easy to identify,⁵ but may be taken as belonging either to Leitrim or to the adjoining portion of Roscommon.

18. "Theobald fitzJohn Bourke, of Derryclowny, Moriertagh mac Rory O Hiffernain, of same, rimor, Mulmory O Hiffernaine, of same, stockagh [*stócach*], Ferreghar O Hiffernaine, of same, stockagh," 8 July, 1585 [no. 4733]. *Muirheartach* (*mac Ruaidhrlí*) *'O Hífeardín*, of Derrycloney, near the town of Tipperary, about mid-way between Caher and Golden.

In the same Fiant a pardon is granted to "Conoghor O Hiffernane, rymor," i.e. *Conchubhar 'O Hífeardín*. This was the "Cono Roe [*Ruadh*] Oharnan, being an Irish Poet," whom James fitzMaurice in 1572 sent to Emly, Co. Tipperary, to Perrott, Elizabeth's President of Munster, as the bearer of "a cunning and subtle excuse" for declining to meet the President in single combat.—"The History of Sir John Perrott," London, 1728, p. 62. "Knoghor O Hiffernan, of Laten" (i.e. Lattin, west of Tipperary town), pardoned in 1601 [no. 6564], may be the same man.

19. "Flan m^cEneas oge M^cCraghe, of Garrestown, rymor," in 1586 apparently [no. 4935]. *Flann* (*mac Aonghusa óig*) *Mág Craith*, of Garrison, near Pallas Grean, Co. Limerick.⁶ Possibly to be identified with Flann

¹ Mentioned in a marginal note in Egerton 88 (O'Gr. Cat. 129z). He is probably the *Iolland* who wrote, ca. 1572, part of the so-called YBL (col. 43, foot).

² Writer of a marginal note in H. 3. 18, p. 83 (Abbott-Gwynn Cat. 359).

³ *Tuilleagna 'O Maolchonaire*, O.S.F., refers, ca. 1640, to a ms. entitled *Leabhar Chluana Plocáin*—Gen. Reg. et Sanct. Hib., ed. Walsh, p. 133.

⁴ Perhaps the *Tornae* of YBL, col. 44, foot.

⁵ "Gortesloghe" may represent Gortnasillagh, which is the name of places in Leitrim, Roscommon, and elsewhere. "Ballekillecomin" may be Ballycummin (*Baile an Chóimín*), on Lough Boderg, where 23 N 10 was written about 1578, in the house of Seán 'O Maoilchonaire (cf. 'Eriu, i, 38).

⁶ With "Garrestown" cf. Ir. *garastán* = "garrison." "Donell M^cCrath, of Garreston, yeoman," was pardoned in 1587 [no. 5006].

Mág Craith,¹ the author of *Iomdha éagnach ag'Eirinn* (cf. O'Gr. Cat. 380), though this is also attributed to Aonghus Fionn and others.

20. "Moilen O Mulconnerie, cronickler," 5 May, 1601 [no. 6504]. *Maoiltn 'O Maoilchonaire*, in Co. Limerick.²

21. "Donogh O Fylan, of same [viz. Donowre], rimer," 7 May, 1601 [no. 6507]. *Donnchadh 'O Fialáin*, of Donore [*Dún Uabhair*], in MacEochagáin's country, in the present Co. Westmeath. A poem of his, written on the occasion of a visit to the O'Byrnes of Ballinacor, Co. Wicklow, has survived (O'Gr. Cat. 506).

22. "Patrick M'Kigan, of Currabeg, brehowne," 12 June, 1602 [no. 6658]. *Pádraig Mac Aodhagáin*, of Carrickbeg,³ a little to the south of Ballymahon, Co. Longford. Some years previously this "Patrick M'Eagan, gentleman," had been made by Elizabeth's government "seneschal of Correbeg alias Ballem'keagan, in the co. Longford," with licence to "prosecute and punish by all means malefactors, rebels, vagabonds, rymors, Irish harpers, idle men and women, and other unprofitable members,"—Fiant 5528, dated 12 Feb., 1591. The Mac Aodhagáins of Carrickbeg were evidently brehons to 'O Fearghail Buidhe,⁴ who was ruler of that part of Longford. 'O Fearghail Buidhe himself lived close at hand, at "the Pallice" [no. 5091], i.e., the present townlands of Pallas Beg and Pallas More, a couple of miles to the east of Ballymahon.

II.

In the case of a large majority of the persons pardoned in the Fiants of Elizabeth, no indication is given as to the callings pursued by the various individuals. Hence we may expect to find the names of many "rimers," "chroniclers," and "brehons" appearing on these lists without their being so described. Moreover, as these particular professions were well known to be obnoxious to the English of the day, it is only natural that poets and others when seeking pardons should have preferred to have themselves described in innocuous terms like "gentleman" or "yeoman." In the present section my main object has been to quote such names as may with

¹ Who may well be a different person from Flann mac Eoghain Mhéig Craith, the panegyrist of the anti-Irish Earl of Ormond and of (probably) Queen Elizabeth.

² The name preceding this belongs to "the Corrie," the name following to Carrigogunnell.

³ The identity is established by comparing Fiants 5063 and 5091, in which the same place is called "Carrigbegge" and "Corrybegge." Possibly the original name in Irish was *Coirthe Beag*, changed later to *Carraig Bheag*.

⁴ The 'O Fearghails had long been loyal to Elizabeth's government, so there is nothing surprising in one of their brehons being made seneschal.

more or less of certainty be identified as those of poets, etc., who are otherwise known. Were anything like a full list available of the literary men of the time, it would doubtless have been possible to suggest many more identifications than I have done. But even when no such identification may be possible, it is not without interest and value to have on record the names and places of residence of members of the learned families of Ireland just before our native learning was engulfed in the general ruin of the country.

23. (a) "Connor oge O Corcran m^cConchour, of Irris, Ferfeasse O Dwgenan, of Inishkellen, Brian O Corcrane, . . . Shane O Corcrane, of the same, . . . Hugh O Choreran m^cMelaughlin, of Kilnelyawe, . . . Matthew O Lonine, of the Arde, Aghye O Hossye, of Baelle Iossey, . . . Cherwoy O Hoghssy, of Balyoshye, Owen Macabe, of Inniskellen, Wm. oge O Corcrane, of same," 18 Jan., 1586 [no. 4810]. (b) "Ogha O Hagassa, of Balyogahsa, freeholder, Kithrin O Hogassa, of same, . . . Bernard O Hogassa, of Balliogassa, freeholder, Barnard O Corcran, of Fearran amuny, student, John O Corcran, student, Wm. O Corcran, student, of same,¹ . . . Miler O Hogasa, of Baliogasa, freeholder," 1591 [no. 5602]. (c) "Eoghy O Hoasa, Carovy O Hoasy, Coochogerie O Hoasy, Melaghlen oge O Hoasy, Brien O Corcran," 28 Feb., 1592 [no. 5716]. (d) "Brian O'Corcran, of Carrick, gentleman, . . . Cirroury O'Hossy, of Ballihosy, Moelaghlin oge O'Hosy," together with five other O'Corcrans (including "Shane" and "William oge"), 7 Decr., 1603 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ja. I., p. 34b).

In the above lists we have members of the learned families of Maguire's country (Fermanagh). *Brian 'O Corcráin*, whose name appears in all four lists, was the author of the prose romance "*Eachtra Mhacaoimh an Iolair*," and of seven poems preserved in the O'Connor Don's MS. According to these documents he resided in 1586 in Enniskillen; in 1591 in "Fearran amuny," which is probably the present Farnamullan (*Fearann-an-mhuilinn*), in the par. of Cleenish (to the south of Enniskillen), of which the 'O Corcráin family were hereditary airchinneachs; and in 1603, at Carrick, near Church Hill, Co. Fermanagh.

Several members of the family of 'O Heóghusa are also mentioned, including the well-known *Eochaidh 'O Heóghusa*, whose name appears in all

¹ In the same Fiant are mentioned six other "O Corcran" students belonging to other places, and one priest of the name. One is reminded of what Davies wrote in his letter to Salisbury in 1606: "Albeit Hugh M^cGuire that was slain in Munster [in 1600] were indeed a valiant rebel, and the stoutest that ever was of his name, notwithstanding generally the natives of this county are reputed the worst swordsmen of the north, being rather inclined to be scholars or husbandmen than to be kern or men of action, as they term rebels in this kingdom."

the lists except the last. They all, so far as we can judge, resided at Ballyhose (*Baile 'I Eóghusa*), on Castlehume Lough, Lower Lough Erne. The name of *Ciothruadh 'O Heóghusa* occurs, in various corrupted forms, in all four lists. *Maoileachlainn 'Og 'O Heóghusa* is mentioned in 1592 and 1603. The *Eochaidh mac Maoileachlainn*, whose death is referred to, as well as that of Tadhg Dall, in the poem *Táirníg éigse fhuinn Ghaoidheal*,¹ is, I conjecture, none other than Eochaidh 'O Heóghusa,² in which case the *Maoileachlainn 'Og* just referred to was probably a younger brother of Eochaidh's.³

Attention may also be called to "Matthew O Lonine, of the Arde," pardoned in 1586, i.e. *Matha 'O Luinín*, of Arda,⁴ on the Erne, between Belleisle and Cleenish. This Matha, in 1571, wrote the Irish law tract in the ms. Nero A. vii (O'Gr. Cat. 141, 146; and cf. *ib.*, 78, 79).

24. "Miellien oge M'Brodie, of the Synnganagh," 17 July, 1585 [no. 4753]. This is the well-known *Maolín 'Og Mac Bruaideadha* (†1601), of Shingaunagh, in the par. of Kilmacrehy, near Liscannor, Co. Clare.

25. (a) "Teig M'Brodie, of Knockinalbie," 18 May, 1586 [no. 4860]. (b) "Teige M'Brody, of Knockan albany, gentleman," 1 May, 1602 [no. 6615]. Here we have *Tadhg Mac Bruaideadha*, i.e. Tadhg mac Dáire, who, as we also know from another source, resided at Knockanalban (*Cnoc an Albanaigh*), in the par. of Kilmurphy, in the west of Co. Clare.

26. (a) "Morris m'David duffe," in Co. Kerry, 21 Apl., 1601 [no. 6498]. (b) "Morris m'Da duff, of Pallice, Ellean ny Owen, his wife, John m'Da duff, of same, . . . Susanna ny Da Duff, of Kilecrydane," 14 May, 1601 [no. 6515]. This is almost certainly the well-known poet, *Muiris (mac Dháibhí Dhuibh) Mac Gearailt*, together with his wife, brother, and sister. "Pallice" is Pallis (*an Phailis*) to the west of Killarney, near Beaufort Bridge. Kilecredane is a few miles to the north, near the present railway station of Ballybrack.

27. (a) "Beolhaghe duff M'Egane, of same [viz., Pallis], Beolhagh m'Owen M'Egane, of same," 14 Jan., 1585 [no. 4576]. (b) "Beolagh duf

¹ Ascribed to Fearflatha 'O Gnímh in 23 D 4, p. 115, but to Aonghus 'O Dálaigh in O'Con. Don's MS., fo. 408a.

² Eochaidh 'O Heóghusa, it may not be amiss to add, appears to have died quite early in the seventeenth century. O'Reilly, who makes him flourish as late as 1630, is certainly wrong.

³ "Miler O Hogasa," i.e. *Maolmhuire 'O Heóghusa*, pardoned in 1591 (*supra*), is not to be confused with Meyler Hussey, of Mulhussey, Co. Meath, whose name occurs frequently in the Fiant of Elizabeth between 1559 and 1580. The name of the latter in Irish would be *Maolmhuire Husaé*. This caution may be necessary in view of O'Grady's conjecture (Cat., p. 153) that the Meathman was of the family of 'O Heóghusa.

⁴ For the association of this place with the 'O Luinín see Hogan's *Onomasticon*, s. v. *Ard*.

M'Egan, of Pallace," 11 June, 1586 [no. 4888]. (c) "John Boelagh m'Shane m'Eagine, of Gortnerlogh, Bolagh duffe m'Caribre M'Eagine,¹ of Killelure, Cosne M'Boelie of Gortneclogh, Owen Boelagh, of same, . . . Caribre² and Cosne m'Donnell M'Boelagh, of Gortneclogh," 1600 [no. 6469]. All three Fiantes deal with the followers of Mac Carrthaigh Mór. Here we have *Baothghalach Dubh Mac Aodhagáin*, of Pallis, near Killarney, in 1585-6, and of "Killelure"³ in 1600, when the place of Domhnall, Earl of Clancar (†1596), had been taken by his son-in-law Finghin. Baothghalach Dubh was thus of the branch of the Mac Aodhagáins who were brehons to Mac Carrthaigh Mór.⁴ He was also apparently something of a poet. Thus he appears to have the best claim to the authorship of *Dia do chruthaigh grianbhrugh Nimhe*.⁵ Another poem, in praise of MacCarthy, is ascribed alternatively to Baothghalach Dubh or to Muiris mac Dháibhí Dhuibh (O'Gr. Cat. 542); the latter also, as we have seen (§ 26), lived at Pallis, which was one of the residences of Mac Carrthaigh Mór.

28. The MacAodhagáin family of brehons had by the sixteenth century carried their profession into many parts of Ireland; indeed they are found almost as widely spread as the 'O Dálaigh family of poets. I append the names of a few members of other branches of the family apart from that of West Munster (§ 27):—

(a) "Carbary M'Egan of Bally M'Egan," i.e. Ballymacegan, in the extreme north of Co. Tipperary, is mentioned in a State paper of the year 1591 (Cal. S.P. 1588-92, p. 426). This is evidently the *Cairbre* (son of *An Cosnamhach*,⁶ etc.) *Mac Aodhagáin*, whose name is the first appended to a document of arbitration between O'Kennedys drawn up in 1584 (G.J. 89, p. 88).⁷ His son, Flann Mac Aodhagáin, of Ballymacegan, is best known from the *testimonia* which he gave the Four Masters on the completion of their works.

¹ Cf. "Beholagh m'Carbery M'Egan," of Co. Cork (?), 1590 [no. 5412].

² Also pardoned in 1601, "Carbrie m'Donell M'Eagine" [no. 6555].

³ Either Coolclogher (*Cúil-chluthair* ?), close to Killarney, and adjoining the townland of Castlelough, or Kileclogherane, in the parish of Kilbonane. "Gortnerlogh" and "Gortneclogh" doubtless represent the present Gortnaglogh in the adjoining parish of Kilnanare.

⁴ His father *Cairbre* (Fiant 6469) may possibly be the *Cairbre* (son of Conchobhar), with whom MacFirbis (p. 325, col. 3) begins his pedigree of MacAodhagáin "ollamh cloinne Carthaigh." But more probably he is the "Carbery m'Shane M'Hegan, of Pallice," pardoned in 1585 [no. 4677].

⁵ Printed in Trans. Gael. Soc. Inverness, xxvi, 100.

⁶ Perhaps the scribe of part of H. 4. 22 (cf. Abbott-Gwynn Cat. 212-213).

⁷ "Carbery M'Egan, of Lessine," 1601 [no. 6519], may be the same man. One of the places called Lisheen in Co. Tipperary, viz., that in the par. of Dorrha, is near Ballymacegan.

(b) In Co. Galway we find the Mac Aodhagáins in possession of four castles in 1574, including that of Duniry¹ (*Dún Daighre*, the place associated with the writing of the *Leabhar Breac*), which was owned by "Carbery M^cEgan and the judges," and the castle of Park (*an Pháirc*; between Tuam and Glennamaddy), owned by "John M^cEgan."² It was in this castle of Park, as Dr. G. U. Macnamara has shown,³ that Egerton 88 was written, *ca.* 1569. In the Fiants we find pardoned in 1590 "Carberie M^cKegan,⁴ of Kyarowvadyn,⁵ Owin M^cKegan, of same, and Gillepatrick M^cKegan, of Park, gentlemen" [no. 5476], and in 1591 "Farganaunyn [*Fearganainm*] M^cKegan, of the Parke, Teige oge M^cKegan, of same" [no. 5613]. It was at Park⁶ that Baothghalach Mac Aodhagáin (Boetius Egan), bishop of Elphin, to whom Mícheál 'O Cléirigh dedicated his "Foclóir," was born. An earlier namesake of the bishop's, "Behillagh M^cKegan, of the Cregan,⁷ gentleman," pardoned in 1590 [no. 5447], may well be identical with Baothghalach Ruadh Mac Aodhagáin,⁸ who took part on the side of the North in the "Contention of the Bards," and whose explanations of difficult words formed the chief source of this "Foclóir" of 'O Cléirigh's.

(c) In the midland districts the MacAodhagáins had long been settled. We have already referred to a branch of them in South Longford (§ 22). In 1564 we find "Shane M^cEgan" as judge in a dispute between O'Molloy and MacGeoghegan (O'Gr. Cat. 152). Many people of the name are mentioned in Fiants dealing with the Midlands. As an example, taken at random, may be given the following from Mac Eochagáin's country in South Westmeath:

¹ "Gillernew M^cKeigin, of Cunery," Co. Galway, was pardoned in 1585 [no. 4613]. "Cunery" here is probably a mistake for "Dunery," *i.e.* Duniry.

² *Journal Galway Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, i, 111, 112.

³ *North Munster Arch. Journal*, ii, 149 ff. At *Páirc* too were written part of H. 2. 16 (YBL) and of H. 3. 18 (see Abbott-Gwynn Cat., pp. 347, 358, 360).

⁴ A namesake, "Carbery M^cKegan, of Aghrim, co. Galway," was pardoned in 1584 [no. 4355].

⁵ This looks like a misreading of Kyarowecryn, in which case the "Owin M^cKegan" here would be identical with the brehon pardoned in 1582 (v, § 13).

⁶ So Meehan, "Irish Franciscan Monasteries," 361.

⁷ One of the half a dozen places in Co. Galway called Creggaun, one of which is close to Park.

⁸ O'Reilly ("Irish Writers," clv) says that this writer was "of a Momonian tribe"; and later writers have imitated and amplified this assertion. McKenna (*Ir. Texts Soc.*, xx, p. xi) says that he "was master of the Bardic School in Ormond at which Michael and Lughaidh O'Clery (as Michael tells) received their poetic education." But the MacAodhagáins were jurists by profession, not poets; and Michael O'Clery says nothing at all about Baothghalach's school being in Ormond. There seems in fact to be no evidence whatever that this Baothghalach was a Munsterman or that he lived in Munster.

"Carbery¹ M^cKygan," of Montrath, 1581 [no. 3762]; "Carbrie M^cKeigan, of Kilcumreragh, 1581 [no. 3775]; "Carbry M^cKigane," of Syonan, 1600 [no. 6450].

29. (a) "Enis O Dallye alias O Dallye," 14 Jan., 1585 [no. 4576]. (b) "Eanes O Dally, of same" (viz. of "Cloynomine"), 1601 [no. 6658], i.e. of Clonmeen (*Cluain Mh*), the seat of 'O Ceallacháin, near Banteer, in Duhallow, Co. Cork. Here we have the poet *Aonghus 'O Dálaigh Fionn*. In (a) his name occurs immediately after those of "Donald, earl of Clancarr," and his family; the first place-name mentioned is "Castloulough,"² which is given with the name next following that of the poet. Aonghus, as we know, was head of his name; hence the "alias O Dallye" of the Fiant. Furthermore, we know that he was as closely connected with Mac Carrthaigh Mór as with 'O Caoimh of Duhallow; he has left a poem³ (23 N 15, p. 151) on the death, ca. 1586, of Tadhg, the only lawful heir of the Earl of Clancarr, as well as an elegy on the Earl's death in 1596.

30. (a) "Eneas keaghe O Daly, of Moyntervarye," 31 Aug., 1590 [no. 5456]. (b) "Eneas Odaly otherwise O'Daly of Cahir," Co. Cork, described as "yeoman," 20 Feb., 1604 (Cal. Pat. Rolls. Ja. I., p. 32 a). This *Aonghus (caoch) 'O Dálaigh* must be the Aonghus 'O Dálaigh who lived at Ballyroon, in S.-W. Cork (where he died in 1617), and to whom the satire on Irish families is ascribed. "Cahir" is the townland of Caher, adjoining Ballyroon, and like it situated in Muntervary (*Muinntear Bháire*), i.e. on the promontory separating Bantry Bay from Dunmanus Bay. From the pardon of 1604 we infer that Aonghus was then 'O Dálaigh Cairbreach, head of the Carbery branch of the family.⁴

31. (a) "Enyes O Dallye, of Palees," 28 May, 1598 [no. 6232]. (b) "Enos O Dalie," of "Pallice," 15 May, 1601 [no. 6517]. Here we have *Aonghus (mac Daighre) 'O Dálaigh*, poet to the O'Byrnes, of Pallis, in the north of

¹ The name Cairbre, like Baothghalach, was a very common one at this time in the Mac Aodhagáin family everywhere.

² i.e. Castloulough, on the shore of Lough Leane, one of the residences of Mac Carrthaigh Mór.

³ This is one of several historical poems by Aonghus Fionn which do not find a place in Fr. McKenna's edition.

⁴ In "Pacata Hibernia," ed. 1810, p. 528, mention is made of "Odalie" of Muntervary, who in 1602 was brought before Carew charged with bringing messages from the "rebels." This "Odalie" was very probably Aonghus, but it is just possible that he may have been the same person as "Laghlín Odallye" who later on in the same work (pp. 576, 651) is mentioned as the bearer of messages from the "traytor" Tirrell to Carew.

Co. Wexford, where also, as we have seen (§ 14), his fellow-poets of the Mac Eochadha family resided.¹

32. "Carrol O Dale, of Pallice," Co. Wexford, 14 Nov., 1597 [no. 6160]. Also "Carroyle boye [*buidhe*] O Dalie," of some unspecified place in Co. Wexford, 15 May, 1601 [no. 6517].

These particulars regarding **Cearbhall* (*Buidhe*) '*O Dálaigh*' are of importance in that they help to definitely fix in time and place a personality who has hitherto been left to the mercy of oral tradition and its still more unreliable commentators. According to the traditional anecdote (which was first printed in Walker's "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards," 1786, app., p. 60, as obtained from Cormac Common of Co. Mayo),² one Carrol O'Daly³ was a suitor for the hand of a Miss Eleanor Kavanagh, but for one reason or another her father arranged that she should marry another man. When the wedding-party had assembled, Carrol entered, disguised as a harper, and played and sang the song *Eibhlín a ráin*⁴ (or otherwise secretly made himself known to her), with the result that Eleanor immediately eloped with him. In confirmation of the substantial truth of this legend, it can be shown that the

¹ This Aonghus and the Cearbhall of the next paragraph are the only O'Dalys I have noticed among the Fiants of the Wicklow-Wexford district. The O'Dalys, though well established in perhaps the greater portion of Ireland, were evidently very few in numbers in South-East Leinster.

² Compare the versions, obtained in our own day, in 'O Máilles' "Amhráin Chlainne Gaedheal," pp. 192-3 (Galway), and in "An Lóchrann," Sept., 1918, pp. 2-3 (Cork). In both of these Cearbhall, in order to attract the attention of the lady (who is called *Ailíneoir* in the former, and the *Rudaire Caomhánach*'s daughter in the latter version), takes to shoemaking and, when an opportunity arises, makes a pair of "magic" shoes for her.

³ Common, as a Connachtman, not unnaturally confuses him with other O'Dalys nearer home, but the date he suggests is more correct: "Carroll O'Daly (commonly called *Mac-caomh Insi Cneamha*), brother to Donough More O'Daly, a man of much consequence in Connaught about two centuries ago" (i.e. about 1586). Hardiman ("Irish Minstrelsy," i, 356-7) accepts this identification of Carrol as the brother of "Donogh More," but, as the latter died in 1244, he naturally objects to the sixteenth-century date as too late. O'Reilly (p. cxii) identifies the Carrol O'Daly of popular tradition with the Cearbhall 'O Dálaigh of Corcomroe (Co. Clare), whom the Annals record as having died in 1404. So does W. H. G. Flood, so far as concerns Carrol the lover of "Eileen Kavanagh" (*sic*). The words and music of *Eibhlín a ráin* were, he affirms ("Story of the Harp," p. 62), "composed in 1386 by Carrol O'Daly, a famous Irish harper"; the date 1386 having apparently been arrived at by subtracting four centuries instead of two from the date of publication of Walker's "Memoirs"!

⁴ Common's version appears to be our only authority for the association of this air with Cearbhall 'O Dálaigh. It should be noted that the lady's name is everywhere (even in Common's version) given as "Eleanor" (*Eilíonóir*), not "Eileen" (*Eibhlín*). On the other hand, we have contemporary evidence that Cearbhall was an expert musician; see the reference to P. Haiceud's poem, *infra*. But the connexion of Cearbhall with this particular song and air of *Eibhlín a ráin* must, I fear, be regarded as quite unproven.

principal actors in it lived in the Wexford-Carlow district in the early part of the seventeenth century. Domhnall Caomhánach, usually known as Domhnall Spáineach, was a prominent figure in the history of East Leinster towards the end of the sixteenth century.¹ He died on 12 March, 1631, and at his death was seised of Clonmullen and other lands in Cos. Carlow and Wexford.² His wife Eleanor survived him, and his son and heir was Sir Morgan Cavanagh, who was then of full age and married.³ This Sir Morgan had "married early in life Eleanor, daughter of the second Viscount Mountgarret, by whom he had sixteen children."⁴ With his father-in-law, Sir Morgan joined the rebellion of 1641, and was killed in an engagement near New Ross in March, 1643.⁵ Among Sir Morgan's children was a daughter named Eleanor (who was doubtless so called after her mother and paternal grandmother), as we learn from an unpublished love-song, beginning *Do mhúsgail mé d'éis luighe araoir go sámh*, which, according to the title prefixed to it in MSS.,⁶ was composed by Cearbhall 'O Dálaigh, for Elfonóir, daughter of Sir Murchadh Caomhánach. Among Pádraigin Haiceud's poems is one addressed in 1630 to Cearbhall 'Og 'O Dálaigh, who is described as a man of many accomplishments—poet, musician, wooer and so on.⁷ A poem by Cearbhall 'Og in reply to this has also been preserved.⁸ A short poem beginning *Fuda ar geomhthrom ó chéile*⁹ is in at least one MS.¹⁰ entitled "a little love-lay addressed by Cearbhall 'O Dála to his lady-love, Eleanor Cavanagh."¹¹ There can be little doubt that the Cearbhall 'O Dálaigh who was in love with Sir Morgan Cavanagh's daughter, and who is traditionally said to have eloped with her, was either the

¹ Cf. D'Arcy M'Gee's "Art Mac Murrogh," 124 ff.

² Inquisitions, Co. Carlow, no. 41; Co. Wexford, no. 84.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ D'Arcy M'Gee, *op. cit.*, 128.

⁵ Gilbert's "History of the Irish Confederation," ii, p. 260, and "Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652," i, p. 62.

⁶ H. 5. 28, fo. 189b (transcribed ca. 1679); H. 4. 26, p. 118 (transcribed in 1701). In the latter the author's name is given as Cearbhall 'Og 'O Dála.

⁷ T. 'O Donnchadha's edition of P. Haiceud's poems, p. 107.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 108. Cf. also *ib.*, p. 44, where he is called "Cearbhall 'O Dálaigh" (without the 'Og).

⁹ Cf. "Dánta Grádha," 1916, p. 22.

¹⁰ St. F. vi. 2, p. 371, where the title is *Laoi bheag chumuinn ó Chearbhall 'O Dhála chuim a mhúirnín .i. Eilíonóir Cháomhánach*.

¹¹ Mention may also be made of a love-song beginning *Im leabaidh araoir do shíleas féin ag teacht*, found in many MSS., and ascribed by them to Cearbhall, or Cearbhall 'Og, 'O Dálaigh. O'Reilly assigns it to the latter, whom he makes to flourish ca. 1680. In H. 4. 24, p. 127, the author is called *Cearbhall 'O Dála na mban*, which reminds one of *Diarmaid na mban* as a popular name for Diarmaid ó Duibhne (Oss. Soc., iii, p. 50n.).

Cearbhall (Buidhe)¹ whom we find pardoned in 1597 and 1601 or (more probably) a son of his, Cearbhall 'Og.

The Cearbhall 'O Dálaigh who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century seems to have been a man of great notoriety in his day. The story of his elopement with Eleanor Cavanagh spread far and wide. In every Irish-speaking district there are probably even to-day old people who have learned traditionally the outlines of the story. From P. Haiceud's poem, to which I have referred above, it seems clear that in his own day Cearbhall was widely known as the possessor of much the same accomplishments as have clung to his memory in popular tradition ever since—that is to say, love-making,² witty speech, versifying, and ingenious craftsmanship of many kinds. In some parts of Munster his remarkable doings and sayings have been so vividly handed down by tradition that those who tell them take it for granted that he belonged to their own district.³ On the other hand, it may be well to point out that another Cearbhall 'O Dálaigh would seem to have been invested with love-making and harping attributes even before the seventeenth century, as we see in the romance (probably sixteenth-century) of "Tochmharc Fhearbhlaidhe,"⁴ which has for its theme the mutual love of Fearbhlaidh and Cearbhall 'O Dálaigh, the latter being represented as the son of Donnchadh Mór 'O Dálaigh, of Finnyvara, Co. Clare.⁵

33. (a) "Owin M^cCrahe, of Ballilomasine, husbandman, John m^cOwen M Crahie, of same," 6 Oct., 1585 [no. 4764]. (b) "Owen m^cDonogh M^cCragh, of Ballylomasne," 11 Apl., 1601 [no. 6495]. (c) "Flan M^cOwen, of Ballelomasne, and Rorie m^cThomas, of same, farmers, John M^cOwen, of same, gent.,"

¹ For the epithet *buidhe* cf. the rime preserved in Munster :

Cearbhall Buidhe na n-abhrán
do sheinneadh streanncán ar théadaibh,

—J. O'Daly in *Oss. Soc.*, iv, p. 64. See also O'Leary's "'Ar nDóithin Araon," pp. 6 ff.

² Cearbhall, like Diarmaid ó Duibhne, is popularly supposed to have possessed the *ball searc*, by means of which he could compel any woman he wished to fall in love with him.

³ Needless to say, Cearbhall's name has, in course of time, become (as was inevitable) a convenient peg on which to hang many things he never did or never said. So in the South one may notice how some storytellers will try to fasten an anecdote on to Aogán 'O Raithile, or Eoghan Ruadh, or some other poet who happens to be well known locally. The authenticity of some of the poems and quatrains attributed to Cearbhall in late mss. is similarly open to question.

⁴ Published in "'Eriu," iv, 47 ff.

⁵ According to the same romance, Donnchadh Mór had a brother known as *Macaomh Inse Creamha*, who was endowed with the power of knowing secrets. (Cormac Common, quoted *supra*, p. 100 n., also makes the *Macaomh* brother of Donnchadh Mór, but he is, of course, wrong in identifying him with Cearbhall). According to O'Flaherty, the *Macaomh* was "a memorable antient magician," who got his name from the island of Inishcraft, in Lough Corrib (Description of H-Iar Connaught, ed. Hardiman, p. 25).

19 May, 1601 [no. 6521]. Here we possibly have two known poets, viz. *Eoghan (mac Donnchadha Mhaol) Mac Craith* and *Flann (mac Eoghain) Mac Craith*.¹ "Ballilomasine" is in Tipperary, but is now obsolete. From the "Tipperary Hearth-money Records, 1665-7" (pp. 25, 91), in which it occurs as "Ballylomas(s)ny," we see that it was in the barony of Iffa and Offa West.

34. *Donnchadh (an tSneachta) Mac Craith* was a man of importance in his day and district. Fiant 4638, dated 8 May, 1585, begins with a "pardon to Donogh Antueaghta [*sic*] m'Shane M'Craghe," and to "Margaret Browne, his wife." An earlier Fiant, no. 3097, dated 7 Sept., 1577, similarly begins with a "pardon to Donogho M'Craih, of Galbally, in Arhlo [*i.e.* Aherlow], co. Limerick, gentleman," who is, beyond doubt, the same man.²

In 1582-3 we find him taking part in the Desmond rebellion.³ A letter from Ormond to the Privy Council, dated 5 April, 1583, announces the submission of "Donnoghoe M'Crahe" among other "rebels."⁴ A letter from the same on July 10, 1583, gives a list of the noblemen and gentlemen who came to him at Cork and gave pledges, among the gentlemen being "Donogh Mac Cragh (a rhymer)."⁵

"Donnchadh an tSneachta" is mentioned as a poet in Eoghan 'O Dubhthaigh's satire on Miler Magrath; the satirist taxes him with having composed, *ca.* 1579, a poem in laudation of the Countess of Ormond (23 N 13, p. 192). At least one of his compositions has come down to us, namely, a poem (O'Con. Don's ms, fo. 378b) in which he laments the tragic deaths of James fitzMaurice (1579), John of Desmond (1582), and the Earl

¹ For the latter see foot-note, § 19, *supra*. The *floruit* of Eoghan mac Donnchadha Mhaol, who is known as the author of some religious pieces, has not yet been satisfactorily determined. If an inference may be drawn from the way in which the names are interchanged in some mss., he would be identical with the Eoghan Mac Craith who, besides taking part in the "Contention of the Bards," was author of *Tugadh an t-ár-so ar 'Eirinn* (written in 1620), and of a couple of poems on the O'Briens of Clare and Tipperary, one of which is dated 1658. O'Reilly is very far wrong in placing him as early as 1200, and so too, I think, is Meyer ("Irish Metrics") in identifying him with the fourteenth-century poet, Eoghan an tOrthóir.

² The persons pardoned in Fiant 4638 belong to "counties Limerick and Cork" (no more precise locality is assigned to any of them), but from the fact that ten of the thirty-one persons pardoned bear the Tipperary surname of Mac Craith, we might have inferred that Donnchadh an tSneachta lived close to the Tipperary border, in just such a place as Galbally. I may add that another Mac Craith *an tSneachta* appears in 1601 and 1603, viz., "Wm. M'Kraigh alias intraghte" [no. 6495], otherwise "Wm. M'Cragh alias yntuaghe (*sic*), tailor," of Castlegrace, near Clogheen [no. 6762].

³ "Donough M'Cragh and Thomas Oge M'Rory M'Cragh lie in the Decies," 22 Sept., 1582.—Cal. S. P., 1574-85, p. 399.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

⁵ Bagwell, "Ireland under the Tudors," iii, 112, note.

of Desmond (1583). He himself was destined to fall a victim to the same tyranny, as we see from the following words of Philip O'Sullivan Beare: "Donatus Macrahus cognomento Niveus¹ Ibernus vir apud populares suos frugalitate et liberalitate notissimus, Momoniarum praefecto Anglo, quem hospicio acceperat, non modo lautum splendidumque conuiuium instruxit, sed etiam domesticos suos choraeas atque ludos exhibere iussit. Paucis in diebus praefectus hospitem Corcacham accersitum ultinio supplicio afficere imperauit, causatus viro probo et frugali non fuisse substantiam alendae tantae familiae parem, atque adeo tot domesticos, non nisi furtis, rapinis, vel aliis artibus vetitis (quod nullo modo probatum est) ab eo ali necesse fuisse."² The date of his death may be placed about 1597, for on 25 Nov. in that year Galbally and other lands in Cos. Limerick and Tipperary, "possessions of Donnagh M^cCraghe, of Galbally, attainted," were granted to one George Sherlocke [no. 6175]. In "*Pacata Hibernia*" (ed. 1810, pp. 257, 259) reference is made to the deep impression which the "execution of Donogh MacCraghe" had made on the people of Munster.

35. (a) The family of Mac-an-Bhaird in the sixteenth century were settled in several districts. Perhaps the most important branch of them was that in MacMahon's country of Farney, Co. Monaghan, of which the following members were pardoned in 1601:—"Hugh m^cDermod M^cE.,³ Flann m^cMorishe M^cE., Coconnaght m^cCoconnaght M^cE., Patrick oge m^cMorish M^cE., Patrick m^cCowle M^cE., Nise [*Aonghus*] m^cHugh M^cE., Nise m^cAdam M^cE., Patrick m^cToell M^cE., Patrick moyle M^cE., Patrick baune and Maurice m^cToell M^cE., Coconnaght m^cPatrick M^cE., Noo [*Nuadha*], Flan, and Lissagh m^cDermod M^cE., Shane and Cormac m^cPatrick moile M^cE., Patrick m^cThomas M^cE., Patrick oge m^cPatrick M^cE., Owin M^cE., Dermot m^cConoghor M^cE., Patrick cam M^cE., Conor m^cFlin M^cE., William oge M^cE., Dermot m^cMelaghlin M^cE., Mullaghlin M^cE., Hugh m^cMelaghlin M^cE., William m^cManes M^cE.," and also "Patrick m^cDermot M^cE." [no. 6563]. Some of these appear also in an earlier Fiant relating to the same district, in which I find: "Patrick moyle m^cE., Awe [*Adhamh*] M^cE., Patrick m^ceviccarie [*mac an bhiocaire*] M^cE., Connor m^cFlyn M^cE., Patrick m^cThomas M^cE., Dermot m^cGilpatrick M^cE., Patrick bane m^cToole M^cE., Moris m^cToole M^cE.," 6 Mar., 1592 [no. 5724]. In another Co. Monaghan Fiant "Owne, Connor, and Deirmod M^cE." were

¹ Wrongly translated "Donough MacCarthy, surnamed the White," in M. J. Byrne's "*Ireland under Elizabeth*," p. 39.

² *Historiae Catholicae Iberniae Compendium*, 1621, fo. 106b.

³ In these Fiants the name is variously spelled M^cEvard, M^cEvarde, M^cEward, etc., all of which I here abbreviate to M^cE.

pardoned 4 Dec., 1602 [no. 6734].¹ Several of these are probably to be identified with known poets; thus among the authors in the O'Conor Don's ms. we find Mac-an-Bhairds with such names as *Aodh mac Diarmada*, *Conchobhar*, *Diarmaid*, *Laoiseach*, and *Pádraig (glas)*, which also appear in the Fiants quoted above.

(b) Of the Donegal branch of the family the following were pardoned 26 Feb., 1603: "Gillpatrick M^cAwarde, . . . Hugh boy M^cAwarde, . . . Morris M^cAward, Donogh M^cAwarde, Owen M^cAward, . . . Ennys oge M^cAward, Owen roe M^cAward, William oge M^cAward, Connor roe M^cAward" [no. 6761]. Here we have two known poets, *Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird* and *Conchobhar Ruadh Mac an Bhaird*. Two of these Donegal names, *Uilliam 'Og'* and *Eoghan*, are, it will be observed, also found among the Monaghan Mac-an-Bhairds, *supra*.

(c) In Co. Sligo the following "M^cEwards," all belonging to Ballymote and all described as "rymers," were pardoned 19 April, 1603: "Gillepatrick Cam," "Donald," "Geoffrey," and "Moilmory" (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ja. I, p. 23). This Geoffrey may well be the *Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird* who engaged in a poetical controversy with Fearfeasa 'On Cháinte (23 L 17, fol. 149a); while "Moilmory" may be the poet *Maolmuire Mac an Bhaird* of the O'Conor Don's ms.

(d) There was also a strong colony of Mac-an-Bhairds in Co. Galway, mainly in the barony of Kilconnell (O'Kelly's country), in which two of them held castles in 1574. Seven Mac-an-Bhairds of Ballymacward, in this district, were pardoned in 1603.²

36. "Luigh O Clery, Gillebride O Clerie, Twohell O Clery, Shane O Clery Dermot O Clery," all of Co. Donegal, 26 Feb., 1603 [no. 6761]. Here we have the well-known *Lughaidh 'O Cléirigh*, biographer of Aodh Ruadh. The others are doubtless relatives of his; he had a brother *Giolla-brighde*, and first-cousins *Sedn*⁴ and *Diarmaid*.

37. "Nice ballagh M^cIlliosa, Ogneiff, Art M^cNulla, Ferflaha Ogneiffe, Bernard oge Ogneife, Enrias M^cMarchais," 18 May, 1602 [no. 6633]. In an earlier Fiant we have "Henrias M^cMarcas," 25 June, 1601 [no. 6556].

¹ To these may be added "Arowail" (*Cearbhall*?), "Brien m^cArowill, and Donell m^cArowill" Mac-an-Bhaird, of Drumgole, Co. Monaghan, pardoned in 1591 [no. 5603].

² One of the two of this name is doubtless the Uilliam 'Og Mac an Bhaird who addressed a poem to Toirdhealbhach Luineach 'O Néill (23 L 17, fo. 78a).

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ja. I, 19b, 28b. I forbear from quoting names in the case of this branch of the family, as I have no evidence that they were devoted to literature at this period.

⁴ Probably not the same as his contemporary and namesake who extolled the descendants of 'Ior in the "Contention" (O'R., clvi).

In neither Fiant is any place-name mentioned, but from the personal names it is easy to infer that both belong to the North-East, to Co. Antrim. Here we have the poets '*O Gnímh* (head of his name), *Fearflatha 'O Gnímh*, and *Ainnrias Mac Marcuis*.¹ Hence we see that the distinction observed in mss. between '*O Gnímh* and *Fearflatha 'O Gnímh* was a real one. It is said that when Seán 'O Néill visited Queen Elizabeth in 1562, he was attended by, among others, "O Gnive, his poet,"² whom Hardiman and later writers have wrongly assumed to have been *Fearflatha 'O Gnímh*. O'Reilly speaks of the latter (whom he places too early, *ca.* 1556) as "poet to the O'Neills of Clannaboy."³

38. The principal seat of the '*O Duibhgeannáin* family was the extreme north of Roscommon, together with the adjoining parts of Sligo and Leitrim. The following '*O Duibhgeannáins* from this district are mentioned in the Fiants⁴: Mulmurre, Dovagh [*Dubhthach*], and Ferfas, of Shancough (*Seanchua*), Co. Sligo, 1585 [no. 4706]. Mulmory, Donogh, and Ferfasse,⁵ of Kilonan (*Cill Rónáin*), Co. Rosc., 1585 [no. 4727]. Cahill roe and Oghey, of "Clonmore," Co. Leitrim, 1585 [no. 4797]. Kirrowe m^eNysse⁶ [*Ciothruadh mac Aonghusa*], of "Killerre" (prob. Killerry, near Lough Gill), Kirrowe and Dowle⁶ [*Dubhghall*, or *Domhnall*?], of Carrick (*i.e.* Carrick-on-Shannon?), Dalvay [*Dalbhadh*, or *Dolbh*], of same, Cogogrie, Farfasse, Toell, Richard, Fartasse (*sic*), Moylemorre, Kirrew, Dalvay, Donnogh, Cahell ro, and Coaghe [*Cobhadh*?],

¹ From these Fiants we see that O'Grady (Cat. 343n.) was mistaken in thinking that Ainnrias's real surname was MacCraith. Only one of his compositions appears to have survived, viz., a poem of 12 stt., *Anocht is uaigneach 'Eire*, ascribed to him in O'Con. Don's ms. and 23 F 16, whence it has been edited by Miss Knott in 'Eriu, viii, 191 ff. A version of the same poem in Brussels ms. 6131-33 is ascribed to Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird, and has 28 stt. (Meyer in 'Eriu, iv, 188). There is an anonymous version in Göttingen ms. 773, as I learn from a transcript by Stern; this version has 30 stt., but appears to be a jumble of two poems, viz. *Anocht is uaigneach 'Eire* and *Cáit ar ghabhadar Gaoidhil*.

² Hardiman, *Irish Minstrelsy*, ii, 157. I have not succeeded in discovering the earlier source from which presumably Hardiman derived this information.

³ In the year 1700 Edward Lhuyd purchased part of the ms., H. 3. 18, from Eóin 'O Gnímh, of Larne, Co. Antrim (Abbott-Gwynn Cat., pp. 140, 152).

⁴ For brevity's sake I omit the surname, and when they are identifiable I give only the current form of the place-names, while retaining the Fiants' spelling of the Christian names.

⁵ These three men are almost certainly identical with the preceding three. "Mulmory" is the *Maolmuire* who in 1578 succeeded his father, Dolbh, son of Dubhthach, as '*O Duibhgeannáin Cille Rónáin* and *ollamh* of Tirerril (FM, p. 1704). For "Donogh" read "Dovogh" (= *Dubhthach*). We have here Dubhthach 'Og mac 'I Duibhgeannáin, author of the poem *Leanam croinic clann Dálaigh* in praise of Aodh Ruadh 'O Domhnaill and his ancestors (St. A. v. 1, fo. 78 b; see also O'R., cxlvii).

⁶ In the case of these names the accompanying surname is spelled "O Downegan" (instead of "O Dowgenan").

of Drumcollop, Co. Leitrim; also Pherrell [*Fearghal*], of Gowel, and Donnell, of Corrabarrack, in the same co., 1590 [no. 5439]. Ferfessa, of Ballindoon, on Lough Arrow, Co. Sligo, 1590 [no. 5459]. Mulrony, of "Ballydowgan," Co. Sligo, 1590 [no. 5498]. Diermott, of "Killmolaishe," and Fiall [*Fáltheal*], of Ballindoon, Co. Sligo, 1593 [no. 5805]. Farfessy, of Roscrib, and Fearfeassy, of Behy, both in Co. Sligo, 1593 [no. 5815]. Gillepatrick, "yeoman," of Castlemore, near Ballaghaderreen, 1592 [no. 5740].

"Fearfeasse O Dwgenaine, rymer," of Moygara, near L. Gara, Co. Sligo, was pardoned 19 Apl., 1603 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ja. I, p. 24 a); he is doubtless identical with one of the Fearfeasas just mentioned.¹ Another and earlier poet was "Calle Dowe [*Cathal Dubh*] O Doeygynane, poet and sarwant unto Teyke O Rworke," in 1560, who is mentioned in Harl. 3756 (O'Gr. Cat. 153).

39. The following members of the well-known family of Mac Fírbhisigh are recorded as having been pardoned; they all belong to Lackan (*Leacan*),² on Killala Bay, in the west of Co. Sligo³:—(a) James; Dowaltagh, Bryen, and Ferfessa; Dermod; Hugh, Filgerney,⁴ Mullmory, Kervoy, and Gilloglas, 3 Sept., 1590 [no. 5459]. (b) Gillernowe; Donogh, "carpenter"; Mullmurry and Fynnegony, 5 Apl., 1593 [no. 5805]. (c) Dualtagh, Gillysamore, Thomas, Findwny, Cowconnaght, Gannon, Thorna, Kirhrooe—all described as "kernes," except Thomas, who is "husbandman," 19 Apl., 1603 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ja. I., p. 22 a). The *Dubhaltach Mac Fírbhisigh* of (a) and (c) is very probably the man of that name who was one of the scribes of Egerton 88;⁵ while in "Gillysamore" (i.e. *Giolla-tosa Mór*) in (c) we have the father of Dudley Mac Fírbis (*Dubhaltach Mac Fírbhisigh*), the well-known antiquarian, who was murdered in 1670.

40. The Mac Conmidhe family of poets are found mainly in Tyrone and in West Sligo. To begin with the latter:

(a) "Hennos M'Nemy,⁶ of the Collyn, Owen M'Nemy, of Kearowengonn,

¹ Another of this name, "Ferfeasse O Dwgenan," of Enniskillen (Maguire's country), was pardoned 18 Jan., 1586 [no. 4810].

² Among the anglicized spellings in these documents are "Leckane" and "Leackane." Do these point to an Irish form in -án? (I note gen. *Leacáin* in Abbott-Gwynn Cat., p. 138).

³ I here omit the surname, which is variously spelled "M'Crusie" (in Fiant 5459), "M'Fírbishy," "M'Fearbissy," etc.

⁴ Filgerney, Fynnegony, and Findwny are all apparently corruptions of the name *Fionduine*, which is found in the Mac Fírbis pedigree (Hy-Fiachrach, 104).

⁵ O'Gr. Cat., 134. From another note (*ib.*, 136) in this ms. we infer that this *Dubhaltach* was son of Séamas. In the Mac Fírbis pedigree (Hy-Fiachrach, p. 102) we find mention of Séamas (who was grand-uncle of the well-known Dudley Mac F.) and of two sons of his, viz. *Dubhaltach* and *Brian Dorcha*. These are evidently the "James," "Dowaltagh," and "Bryen," pardoned in 1590.

⁶ Compare "Aeneas Conmy" (or "macny Moy"), who was teacher of two students

Flan M^cNemy, Salomon alias Solon [*Solamh*] M^cNemy, of same, Morrish M^cNemy, of Kill, . . . Connoght [*Cú-chonnacht*] M^cNemy, of Ballecottell, . . . M^cMea [*Maicnia*] M^cNemy, of Killglassse," 3 Sep., 1590 [no. 5459]. The place-names, taken in order, are to-day : Culleen (*Coillín*) in the par. of Kilglass, Carrowgun in the par. of Castleconor, Kilglass, Cottlestown (*Baile 'I Choitil*) in the par. of Castleconor, and Kilglass. (b) "Kuchonnaght M^cNemye, of Ballechottle," and "Wm. O Mughan m^cMorris m^cConmye,¹ of Kyll," 22 Feb., 1594 [no. 5848]. (c) Three of the foregoing, together with eight others of the same surname, were pardoned 19 Apl., 1603, viz., Owen, Maccinea, Flann, Shane, Twohill,² Aworkagh [*Euchmharcach*], Tirrelagh, Thomas, James, Moylemorrie,³ and Brian (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ja. I., p. 22). These are all described as "rymers" and as of "Killeny" (*Coillín Aodha*, Hy-Fiachrach 250), i.e. the present townland of Culleen. The *Flann Mac Conmidhe* pardoned in 1590 and 1603 may be the poet of that name whom O'Reilly places under the year 1612.

Of the Tyrone branch of the family, the following were pardoned 1 Apl., 1601 : Shane grome; Morish oge, Cormick, and Mullmorie; Clane (*sic*) m^cGillbrede; Bren grome; Teig m^cFloen; and Donill duff [no. 6489]. The "Bren grome [*gruamdha*] M^cNemee" of this Fiant may possibly be the *Brian (mac Aonghusa) Mac Conmidhe* of whom Tadhg Dall speaks (O'R., clxiii). "Cormick" may be the poet *Cormac (mac Cearbhaill) Mac Conmidhe* of H. 1. 17, fo. 89b.

To the above may be added "Shane M^cNemye and Magnes duff M^cNemye," of Aghadrumkeen, in the bar. of Dartree, Co. Monaghan (MacMahon's country), 1591 [no. 5603].

41. (a) "Dermote O'Coffee," of Offaly, 6 Nov., 1563 [no. 574]. (b) "Owny O Coffy, of Rochestou,⁴ co. Westmeath, gent., Melaghlen O Coffy, of same, Moriortagh O Coffy, of same," 29 Aug., 1582 [no. 4023]. (c) "Murtagh Coffie, Owen Coffie, Thomas Coffie, . . . Owny O Coffie, of Rogerston, co. Westmeath, Wm. O Coffie, of Ballinkine," 25 Mar., 1600 [no. 6378]. (d) "Melaghlin O Coffie, of Ballinkeney, Teige m^cHugh O Coffie, Teige m^cShane O Coffie, of same, gentlemen," 8 Sep., 1601 [no. 6574]. The places mentioned are (besides Offaly) Rogerstown and Ballinkeeny, both near the Hill of

who entered the Irish College, Salamanca, in 1612 and 1625 respectively (Archivum Hib., ii, 29; iii, 45).

¹ Here evidently the names of two persons have been run together.

² A namesake, "Twohell M^cNemy," appears among Tír-chonaill pardons earlier in the same year [no. 6761].

³ Probably the "Mulumry M^cConmy, of Rathliewe," i.e., of Rathlee, West Sligo, 1593 [no. 5805].

⁴ A slip for "Rogerston," as we see by comparing it with Fiants 2227 and 6533.

Ushnagh, Co. Westmeath. Here we appear to have the names of three known poets, viz. *Diarmaid 'O Cobhthaigh* (O'R., cxlv), *Muirheartach 'O Cobhthaigh* (O'R., cxlvi), and *Maoileachlainn 'O Cobhthaigh* (H. 1. 14, fo. 108a).

42. The 'O Ruanadha family of poets are associated mainly with Mag Aonghusa's country, in the present Co. Down, where the following O'Ronys were pardoned 3 May, 1602: Loghlin oge, Hugh, Gilleduff, and Owine; Shane m^cNeyse, Neise [*Aonghus*] m^cCormock oge, Coconaght, William gromo [*gruamudha*], Hugh m^cLaughlen, Rorie. Two of these are possibly to be identified with known poets, viz., *Aodh mac Conconnacht 'I Ruanadha* (O'Con. Don's MS., fo. 62b) and *Seán 'O Ruanadha*, author of a poem addressed to the sons of Fiacha 'O Broin (H. 1. 14, fo. 118). More probably the latter is the "Shane O Rowne" pardoned in a Co. Wicklow Fiant in 1582 [no. 4019].¹

43. "Whony on Canty, of Curribordy, Ellen ny Tane ny Mahowney, his wife, Farfassie on Cantie, of same, Katherine ny Daly, his wife, . . . Teige on Canty, of Clansheane, Margaret ny Fynen, his wife," 14 May, 1601 [no. 6516]. *Uaithne* and *Fearfeasa 'O'n Cháinte*, of Curravordy, to the north of Bandon, Co. Cork; and *Tadhg 'O'n Cháinte*, of "Clansheane," which I cannot identify, but which is evidently in the same district. *Fearfeasa* is the well-known poet of that name, who among other pieces has left us an elegy on Aonghus Fionn, to whom his wife may have been related. *Tadhg* is probably to be identified with the author of the poem *Uadha féin do fhás 'Iosa* in O'Conor Don's MS.²

44. "Morris O Mulchonile (*sic*), of Ardchile, Shane O Mulchonile, and Shane Parke O Mulchonile, of same, yeomen," 3 Mar., 1603 [no. 6755]. Here we have *Seán 'O Maolchonaire*, of Ardkyle (*Ardchoill*), near Sixmilebridge, Co. Clare, author of some poems, and famous in his day as head of the leading historical school in Ireland.³ In an earlier Fiant we find a pardon granted to a son of his, "Donill m^cShane Mulconry, of Ardkill," 7 Sep., 1577

¹ A third, and earlier, man of the same name, viz. "Shane O'Rono, of Tohe, co. Westmeath," was pardoned in 1561 [no. 365].

² The following are the only other occurrences of the surname 'O'n Cháinte ("an obscure name," O'Grady calls it) in the Fiants of Elizabeth; all the places mentioned are in Co. Cork:—"Dermot O Cantie, of Castellmahoune, Sely ny Dermot O Cartie (*sic*), of same" [no. 6539]; "Wm, reogh O Encantie, of Tymolage" [no. 6701]; "Dermot m^cConoghor ny Carty (*sic*), of Curverdy" [no. 6539], i.e. of Curravordy; in Fiant 6764 this last individual appears as "Dermot m^cConnoghor O Chanty, of Caenelardery" (*sic*!); "Donogh O Cantie, of Cashelbeg" [no. 6764]; and perhaps "Donell m^cDonegh O Cartie," of Co. Cork [no. 6499].

³ As we find the same (presumably) "Seán 'O Maeilchonaire ón Ardchoill" getting some lands in mortgage as early as 1548 (Hardiman's *Ancient Irish Deeds*, p. 62), he must have been a very old man at this date.

[no. 3089]. The "Morris O Mulchonile" pardoned in 1603 is doubtless the *Muiris 'O Muoilchonaire* who has left a poem in praise of Eoghan 'O Hallmhuráin, a harper (O'R., clix).

45. "Donell m^cColgan MacColgan, Shane Duw [*Dubh*] M^cColgan," of Inishowen, Co. Donegal, 5 June, 1602 [no. 6555]. The latter is probably the *Seán Mac Colgáin* to whom a poem addressed to Toirdhealbhaich 'O Néill, ca. 1607, is ascribed (O'Gr. Cat. 388).

46. *Seán Mac Céibhfhionnaigh* is known as a poet from a quatrain in song-metre dealing with O'Connor Sligo and from a poem of his in O'Connor Don's ms. It is just possible that he is identical with "Shane M^cKevaine," of Inischrone, Co. Sligo, described as "husbandman," who, with two others of the same surname, place, and occupation, was pardoned 19 Apl., 1603 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ja. I., p. 22a).¹ In the Fiants I notice "Teige M^cKyevony," of Castlereagh, Co. Mayo, and "Molmory M^cKeaveny," of Inishrone [no. 5798]; the name of the latter appears as "Mulmorry M^cKevyn" in another Fiant [no. 5606]. All these seem to have as surname *Mac Céibhfhionnaigh*, which is now anglicized "Keaveny," and is rarely met with outside Connacht.²

III.

In the two preceding sections the names have been drawn principally from the Fiants. The names that follow are for the most part taken from other English documents of the period. Further investigation in this direction would, I have no doubt, result in a considerable addition to the names recorded below; and, if time permits, I hope later on to supplement the present contribution.

47. In 1538 Ormond wrote to the Council in Ireland that Lady Eleanor FitzGerald, widow of MacCarthy Reagh, had gone from Munster to O'Donnell,³ taking with her the young son of the Earl of Kildare. When they had come within seven miles of O'Donnell's country, "oon Ee M^cCraghe, a rymor, which dwellith in the countre of Tiperarie, then being in that partie at lernyng, dud mete with them, and kepte company togethers, till they came to O Donills house." This *Aodh Mac Craith* betrayed to the anglophile Ormond all he knew concerning the doings of O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the Earl of Kildare's son.—State Papers, Henry VIII, iii. 44.

¹ For "M^cKevaine" we should perhaps read "M^cKevanie."

² It is to be distinguished from 'O Caomháin, a Sligo surname (O'Donovan's *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 108, note), which in the Fiants and Pat. Rolls assumes the forms O Keavane, O Kievane, O Kywaine, etc.

³ This was the well-known Maghnus 'O Domhnaill, poet and patron of literature. In the same year (1538) he married the Lady Eleanor.

48. On Jan. 27, 1542, pardon was granted to "Owen Keynan [*Eoghan 'O Ciandin*], of Cappervarget, near Ratheangan, in the county of Kildare, harper, otherwise called Owen Keynan, servant of Gerald, late Earl of Kildare, otherwise Owen the Rhymer, otherwise Owen Keynan the poet, otherwise Owen Keynan Keyeghe [*Caoch*], the blind bard; and Cornelius [*Conchobhar*] Keynan, of Cappervarget, harper, otherwise called Cornelius Keynan, son of Owen Keynan Keyeghe, otherwise Cornelius the bard."—*Cal. Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery*, i, 69.

49. An inquisition held in Dingle in 1584 finds that "David Duffe Gerald" joined the Earl of Desmond's rebellion, and was killed 12 June, 1581, at which time he was "seised in his lordship as of fee of one tenement in the town of Dingle in the said county of Kerry on which Thomas Moore had a mortgage of fifteen shillings sterling."—*Kerry Arch. Magazine*, Oct., 1910, p. 273. This is in all probability *Dáibhí Dubh MacGearailt*, whom Stanyhurst describes thus: "Dauid Fitzgiralde, vsuallie called Dauid Duffe, borne in Kerie, a ciuilian, a maker in Irish, not ignorant of musike, skilfull in physike, a good and generall craftsman. . . . He plaied excellentlie on all kinds of instruments, and soong therto his owne verses, which no man could amend. In all parts of logike, rhetorike, and philosophie, he vanquished all men, and was vanquished of none."¹ *Dáibhí Dubh's* death in "rebellion" and the ensuing confiscation of his property would very well explain why his son, Muiris, left the Geraldine country and attached himself to *Mac Carrthaigh Mór* (see § 26).

50. In a list of the Earl of Desmond's rents in the Carew Papers (i, pp. 414-415) some information is given as to the lands held by the poets attached to the Earl: (1) In the "cantred of Keyery" (roughly the northern half of the present Co. Kerry): "The bloodshed of the country of Keyrry is due to the manor of the Island [Castleisland], together with the rent of Kiltarcon, the Rimors' lands for candlelight to the said manor allowed." (2) In the "cantred of Ogonyll" [*Ui Conaill*, in west Limerick]: "Lands held by the rimers of the Earl in the mountey[n] of Slewlocra [*Sliabh Luachra*], named the Brosenaghe, and by the rimers of Templay Egleantane and Ballywroho. . . . When the Earl doth cross the mountain or take his journey betwixt Keyrry and Connelogh [*Conallacha*, i.q. "Ogonyll"], the foresaid rimors are wont to bear the charge for a day and night, coming and going." The lands mentioned above are, respectively, Kilsarkan, near Castleisland; Brosna, N.-W. of Castleisland, near the Limerick border; and Templeglantan

¹ Holinshed's *Chronicles*, ed. 1807-8, vi. p. 60. (Stanyhurst's remarks will be found quoted more fully in "*Dánta Grádha*," p. x.)

and Ballymurragh, both in the parish of Monagay, near Abbeyfeale, Co. Limerick. The "rimers" referred to were of the family of 'O Dálaigh.

In the Fiants I note the following pardons of these O'Dalys: "Donald O Dalie, of Brossnaghe," 1597 [no. 6183]. "Melaghlin O Dalie," of or near Castleisland, and "Donell O Dalie, of Brasnath," 1601 [no. 6555]. "Gogherig m^cDallig I Dally [*Gofraidh mac Dálaigh 'I Dhálaigh*], of Brosnagh," 1601 [no. 6539]. "Geffery m^cDonell I Dalley, of Brosnagh," 1601 [no. 6576]. "Coconnaght m^cMolaghlin oge O Dalie, of Killtarchon, Melaghlin O Dalie, of same, yeoman, Morrogh O Dalie m^cTeig, of Brosne, Goherie oge O Dalie, of same," 18 Mar., 1601 [no. 6477]. "Owen O Dallie, of Templeglantan, Donogh O Dallie, of same," 1600 [no. 6461]. To these may be added "Gillyse O Daly, of Templeglantan, in Limerick co., yeoman," pardoned 7 Dec., 1603 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ja. I., p. 26 a).

51. Of at least one of these O'Dalys, viz. *Cúchonnacht mac Maoileachlainn 'Oig*, of Kilsarkan, we find elsewhere some interesting particulars. His father, Maoileachlainn 'Og 'O Dála, is mentioned as a poet, *ca.* 1579, in Eoghan 'O Dubhthaigh's satire on Miler Magrath (23 N 13, p. 192). After the downfall of the great house of Desmond Cúchonnacht went north to Aodh Ruadh 'O Domhnaill, with whom he remained for some years, and on leaving whom he composed the poem *Cionnus do fhúigfinnse Aodh*?¹ While on his way back from Ulster he may have paid a visit to the O'Byrnes' country,² for in the *Leabhar Branach*³ we find a poem by Cúchonnacht 'O Dálaigh (either the present poet, or a namesake of whom we know nothing further) in praise of Feidhlim (son of Fiacha mac Aodha) 'O Broin.⁴ The Fiant quoted above shows him back again in his native district in 1601. From an elegy on him by Maoldomhnaigh 'O Muirgheasáin (23 L 17, fo. 106 a), we see that he lived on until 1642, and that he died at *Tolcha*,⁵ where he had conducted a school.

52. More remarkable still appears to have been the career of Cúchonnacht's brother, Conchubhar 'O Dálaigh. He was a devoted adherent of

¹ St. A. v. 1, fo. 77 a, where the title is *Cúchonnacht mac Maoileachloinn óig 'I Dhálaigh (ón Mumhain), do bhí seal fada i ffochair 'I Dhomhnaill, Aódh Rúadh, do rinne so do ríattriall dá dhúthaigh*.

² There would be nothing surprising in this, for the stout fight for independence put up by Fiacha 'O Broin and his sons, at a time when most of Ireland was falling an easy prey to Elizabeth, drew from time to time not a few poets from other parts to the O'Byrne stronghold of Ballinacor—Tadhg Dall 'O Huiginn, Eochaidh 'O Heóghusa, and Donnchadh 'O Fialáin (see § 21), for example.

³ H. 1.14, fo. 115 b.

⁴ Similarly it is just possible that the Giolla-íosa 'O Dálaigh, of Templeglantan, pardoned in 1603, is the poet of that name who wrote a poem in praise of the sons of Fiacha mac Aodha (H. 1. 14, fo. 113), and who appears to be otherwise unknown.

⁵ Not improbably the townland of Tullaha, in the parish of Killagholehane (cf. § 11), near Broadford, Co. Limerick.

Gerald, Earl of Desmond, to whom he was "faithful from the beginning to the end."¹ About 1582, when the Earl was reduced to extremities, Conchubhar, who was "a man of remarkable eloquence," was sent by the Earl to various Irish nobles to try to induce them to take part in the rebellion; but through timidity on the nobles' part his mission proved a failure.² When in November, 1583, the unfortunate Earl was surprised in the night and murdered near Tralee, Conchubhar was "at a short distance from him in the valley, watching the cattle that had been seized the day before."³ A contemporary account⁴ tells us how the Earl, in straits for want of food, had sent into the Castlegregory district "two of his horsemenne (Corroghore ne Scolly and Shane Deleo), with eightene kearnes, to bring him a pray"; the prey thus commandeered was followed by the owners and by some English soldiers, and the Earl's death was the direct sequel. Here we find Conchubhar called "Corroghore ne Scolly," i.e. *Conchubhar na Sgoile*, doubtless from a bardic school which in quieter times he had conducted. A year afterwards (18 Dec., 1584) we find a pardon granted to "Conoghor O Daly alias Conoghor ny Scolly," of Co. Kerry [no. 4555]. But though his life was spared, his property was confiscated. An inquisition held in Dingle in 1584 found that "Conogher O Dalys of Kiltarcon [Kilsarkan] in the said county of Kerry, gentleman," had entered into rebellion with the late Earl of Desmond, "and that at the time of his entering into the said rebellion he was seised in his lordship as of fee of Kiltarcon aforesaid with its appurtenances containing seven carucates of land."⁵ Friar Dominic says that Conchubhar, "when all was lost, preferred his honour and reputation to any compromise with the queen. Had he been recreant to his principles, he might have saved whatever property he owned; but in the parliament held after the wars of the Desmonds it was forfeited to the crown, as may be seen in the acts then passed; he was thrice arrested by Ormond and honourably acquitted."⁶ Some years afterwards we find him making an ineffectual attempt to get his

¹ *History of the Geraldines*, by Fr. Dominicus de Rosario, O.P., published in Lisbon, 1655, and translated into English by Rev. C. P. Meehan (to whose fourth edition I here refer). The author's real name was Domhnall 'O Dálaigh. He was born in 1595, and was closely related (p. 122) to the Conchubhar 'O Dálaigh of whom I speak above; indeed from what he says elsewhere (p. 92) of his father, it is almost certain that Friar Dominic was a son of this very Conchubhar.

² *Ibid.*, 119-120.

³ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁴ Examination of Owen mac Donnil O Moribertagh [*Eoghan mac Domhnaill 'I Mhuirheartaigh*] on 26 Novr., 1583, reprinted in *Kerry Magazine*, vol. i (1854), p. 98, from Thomas Churchyard's "A Scourge for Rebels" (London, 1584).

⁵ *Kerry Arch. Magazine*, Oct., 1910, p. 271.

⁶ *History of the Geraldines*, Meehan's translation, p. 122.

property restored. "Among the records of the Exchequer for the year 1592," wrote Herbert F. Hore, "there is a mass of pleadings before commissioners, in the countries of Desmond and Kerry, between the remnant of the followers of the late Earl of Desmond and the English grantees of the escheated properties. One of these pleadings is a petition of Connoher O'Dalie, praying to be restored to the family estate. The petitioner states that his grandfather, Melaghlin Mac Donoghe O'Dalie [*Maileachlainn mac Donnchadha 'I Dhálaigh*], was seized of Kiltoghercon [Kilsarkan], in the county of Kerry, containing five ploughlands which descended to Melaghlin Oge, the petitioner's father, who died, says the record, 'about a year before Mr. Davells was killed.' The petitioner further states that he forsook the lands, and that he was not in rebellion, nor was he attainted. On reference, however, it was found that he had been especially attainted."² Previous to this, between 1584 and 1589, it would appear that he spent some time in Maguire's country, if I am right in identifying him with Conchubhar Crón 'O Dálaigh, who, as a poem³ of his informs us, left Munster after the death of the three Geraldine leaders, James fitzMaurice, Sir John of Desmond, and the Earl, and sought a new patron in Cúchonnacht Mag Uidhir († 1589).

53. From various presentments of juries in 1537 we learn the names of brehons in Kilkenny and the adjoining counties. The jurors of Co. Kilkenny complain that "Brehins law" is used "over all the countrey," "most specially within the countie of Kilkenny, whiche lordes commynly have eche of them one severall judge under them; the judges name under my lorde of Ostrey [Ossory], Rory Maklane."—Annuary of R.S.A.I. for 1868–1869, p. 100. According to the same jurors one book of the "statutes of Kylcas"⁴ was "in the possession of Rory M^cLaughire, being judge of the countrey," *ib.*, 113. The judge mentioned in these passages was named *Ruaidhri Mag Fhlannchadha*. In a less corrupt form his name appears in the presentment of the jury of Co. Tipperary, from which we learn that Thomas Butler had as his judges "Rery M^cClaneghye, Oyne [*Eoghan* or *Eóin*] M^cClaneghe, Thomas M^cClaneghe," *ib.*, 233–4. A jury of the city of Waterford in the same year (1537) finds that Lady Katherine Butler, widow of Lord Power,

¹ Davells was killed by John of Desmond about 1 August, 1579.

² *Ulster Journal of Archæol.*, vii, 107 (1859). In the same article Hore suggests the identity of this "Connoher O'Dalie" of 1592 with the "Cornelius O'Daly" described by Friar Dominic. The other identifications in the present note are mine alone.

³ ZCP, ii, 346.

⁴ *i.e.*, the law of *cion comhgais*; see *op. cit.*, foot-note, p. 100, and Keating's *Foras Feasa*, i, p. 68. Joyce (*Social History*, i, 183) is very far wrong in explaining these "statutes of Kilcas" as "the local Brehon Law of Kilcash in Tipperary."

"hath ordeyned an Irishe judge called Shane M^cClaunaghe [*Seán Mag Fhlannchadha*], and that the said Shane useth Brehens lawe and ordreth the matters of variannee of the countie moche after her will and commaundement, and taketh for th' use of his judgement called Oylegeag [*oile-dhéag*] xvi^d stg. of every mark stg., and taketh as moche of the playntif as of the def^t," *ib.*, 199. From the presentment of the jury of Irishtown, part of Kilkenny city, we learn that among the judges in Kilkenny were "Donoughe Makhewgan [*Donnchadh Mac Aodhagáin*], by the commaundymnt of the Lorde Grace, Richard Sertall, and Malayhan Ogge Clerry" [*Máileachlainn 'Og 'O Cléirigh*],¹ *ib.*, 135.

54. In a presentment of sessions held in Cork in 1576 it is complained that "all the lords of this country" use the following "extortion," viz., "that when any frehoulder or inhabitant within their severall countries is married, the ruñor [rimer] of that lord called Olaff Danie [*ollamh dána*] will take the best apparail of the womane so married or the juste value thereof."—Annuary of R.S.A.I. for 1868–9, p. 273. A particular instance of this curious privilege is given further on in the same presentment (*ib.*, p. 277), where it is asserted that "one Dermond Odayly in the name and to the use of Odaly Fynyne came to Kile Weybowd in the countie of Cork in June last past," and "haith forceably taken of Margeret ny Scally of the said Kile Waiebowed all the rayment that shee did weare, that day being newly mareid, or else the valwe of the same, to his oun contentacōn, alleadginge the same to be due to the forsaid Odayley of everye womane that is married throughowt all Desmond and M^cDonoghe countrye, because he is their cheef Rymor otherwise called Olowe Dane." "Odaly Fynyne" is '*O Dálaigh Fionn*, who, in 1576, may well have been Aonghus (cf. § 29). "Kile Weybowd" is evidently in Duhallow (MacDonagh's country), and would seem to be the present Killavoy (spelled "Kylewoy" in Fiant 5903), in the parish of Clonmeen.

As to the origin of this curious exaction, it is probable that at first the gift of the wedding-clothes to the poet was looked upon as an appropriate reward for the epithalamium which he doubtless produced on such occasions. A good illustration of the conservative spirit of the Irish literary class is afforded by the fact that towards the end of the seventeenth century, if not later still, we find a poet, Peadar 'O Maolchonaire, claiming wedding-clothes as his due.² A similar custom existed in Gaelic Scotland down to the

¹ For the Kilkenny branch of this family see O'Donovan's *Hy-Fiachrach*, pp. 72, 89, note.

² Viz., in a short poem addressed to Tadhg 'O Rodaighe, and beginning *A mhic Geróid an ghlóir ghloin* (H. 6. 15, p. 82). The poem itself states the claim vaguely, but

seventeenth century. Martin, in his "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland" (1703, p. 115), speaking of the "Orators" or *Is-Dane* (aos dána), says that "upon the occasion of Marriages and Births they made Epithalamiums and Penegyriks [*sic*], which the Poet or Bard pronounc'd"; and he also tells us (*ib.*, p. 116) that "the Poet or Bard had [formerly] a Title to the Bridegrooms upper Garb, that is, the Plade and Bonnet, but now he is satisfied with what the Bridegroom pleases to give him on such occasions."

55. "Owen Odewhee, a preacher, and a maker in Irish," is mentioned among "the learned men and authors of Ireland" in Stanyhurst's Description of Ireland.¹ This is *Eoghan 'O Dubhthaigh*, O.S.F., author of the poem *Léig dod chomórtas dúinn* (against Miler Magrath and others); for whom see further O'Sullivan Beare's Hist. Cath. Ib. Compend., lib. iv, cap. xii, and Mooney, quoted in the 1850 edn. of O'Sullivan's work, pp. 107-8, note. This Franciscan poet and preacher is in all probability the "Eugenius Duhy," vicar of Tubbrid, who, with Geoffrey Keating, is mentioned as one of the founders of the chapel of Tubbrid (south of Cahir, in Co. Tipperary) in the inscribed slab which still stands above the door.²

56. "William McCroddan," i.e. *Uilliam Mac Rodáin* (?), is mentioned as "a brehon or judge under the Earl" of Tyrone in 1593.—Cal. S.P., 1592-6, pp. 112, 114.

57. Among those who set sail from Ardea (on the Kenmare River) for Spain, 7 July, 1602, with Connor O'Driscoll and Father James Archer, S.J., was "Dermond mac Shannaganie,"³ a Rimer" (*Pacata Hibernia*, ed. 1810, 429), i.e., *Diarmaid Mac* (rectius '*O*?) *Seancháin*.

58. In the course of the inquiry set on foot by Mountjoy in Fermanagh, ca. 1603, the jury desired, in order to determine with certainty the profits accruing to Maguire from his mensal lands, to consult "an old parchment roll, which they called an indenture, remaining in the hands of one O'Brislan, a chronicler and principal brehon of that [*i.e.* Maguire's] country; whereupon O'Brislan was sent for, who lived not far from the camp, who was so aged

the title in the ms. is more explicit: *Ollamhnacht .i. spré nuachair .i. éadach nuachair go coitchionn | do bhí Tadhg do chongbháil go hainndlightheach ó Pheadair 'O Maolchonaire*. It is possible that the wedding referred to was that of Tadhg 'O Rodaighe's niece-in-law, which took place in 1701, and for which Peadar 'O Maolchonaire wrote an epithalamium (H. 6. 15, p. 94).

¹ In Holinshed's Chronicles, ed. 1807-8, vi, p. 63. First printed in 1577.

² The inscription is dated 1644, and it has hitherto, I think, been misunderstood. The natural interpretation of it would seem to be that the founders, "Duhy" and Keating, were both at that time (1644) dead, and were buried within the chapel.

³ Less incorrectly in Cal. Carew MSS., iv, 202, "Dermot McShanaughane, a Rymer."

and decrepid as he was scarce able to repair unto us.”—Davies, Letter to Salisbury (1606), in Vallancey's *Collectanea*, i, 159 (1770).¹ Here we have 'O Breisleidin, brehon of Maguire, and one of the “erenaghs” of Derryvullan (*Doire Mhaoláin*),² on the Erne, close to Cleenish Island. In the Fiants Eliz. the only person of this surname mentioned, at least in Cavan, is “James O Brissleayn, of Doeury uulan [*i.e.* Derryvullan], husbandman,” pardoned in 1591 [no. 5602]; this may be the same man.

59. Of the family of O Huiginn the following “rymers” were pardoned 19 Apl., 1603: William, Twoholl, Cormuck, Gillenewf, and Teige oge M'Teige Daile [*Tadhg 'Og mac Taidhg Dhaill*], all of “Dwacharny,” Co. Sligo; and also “Neeile M'Gilliffe [*mac Giolla-tosa, or mac Giolla-na-naomh*] O'Higgen rymmer,” of “Skardane,” *i.e.* Scardan, near Sligo town.—Cal. Patent Rolls, Jas. I., p. 24 a. Some of these, or namesakes of theirs, are also mentioned in Fiants Eliz., *e.g.* “Gillernewe O Higen,” Co. Sligo, 1584 [no. 4290]; “William O Higgen,” together with Brian O H. and Gille Cullam O H., all of “Moytaugh,”³ Co. Sligo, 1587 [no. 5026]. Namesakes of *Cormac 'O Huiginn* mentioned above, are “Cormock O Higgin,” of Co. Mayo, 1587 [no. 5058], and “Cormock O Higgen,” of “Magherie Quirk” [*Machaire Chuire(ne)*], Co. Westmeath, 1601 [no. 6506]. The latter may well be the Cormac 'O Huiginn who addressed a poem (H. 4. 15, p. 101) to Theobald Dillon, of Killinure, in Machaire Chuire, close to Lough Ree. On the other hand, we also have poems by one or more Cormac 'O Huiginn of Co. Sligo; see O'C. Don's MS. and O'Gr. Cat. 447.⁴

60. Although the 'O Cianáin family were associated mainly with Fermanagh (Maguire's country), it is perhaps worthy of note that no person of this surname appears among the Fiants relating to Fermanagh. On the other hand, seven persons of the name residing in Co. Armagh are pardoned in Fiant 6735, dated 6 Dec., 1602, including “Coconnaght O Kinan,” priest, and “Teige O Kinane,” gentleman. The latter may be the *Tadhg 'O Cianáin* who has left us the history of the Flight of the Earls, and to whom there are some references in the State Papers.

Like that of the other fugitives, the property of *Tadhg 'O Cianáin* was forfeited owing to his flight. It is given as consisting of 15 cows, 8 calves, 1 garron, 1 hackney, and 25 swine, the whole being valued at £22 6s 2d.

¹ In later editions of the Letter the brehon's name is corrupted to “O'Bristan.”

² Cf. AU. iii, 394.

³ Perhaps for Moylough, in the par. of Achonry.

⁴ Among other 'O Huiginn poets of the late sixteenth century were 'Triall, Ruaidhrí, and Seán, and names corresponding to each of these are also found in the Fiants. But a discussion of the possibility of identifying the latter with the poets will best be left to Miss E. Knott, who has, I understand, made a special study of the 'O Huiginn family.

(Cal. S. P., 1608-10, p. 537). Subsequently, however, the property was restored to Tadhg's wife "at the request of the Earl of Thomond, to whom she is allied, in consideration that the said Earl alleged that the said Teig sent him intelligence of importance from beyond the seas" (*ib.*, p. 543). Later on we find some references to his brother, *Cúchonnacht 'O Ciandín*, during investigations into an alleged "plot" in Ulster between Alexander and Lodder M'Donnell, Brian Crossagh O'Neale, and Maguire's sons. Lodder M'Donnell, examined on 29 May, 1615, says that "he saw Couconnagh O'Kernan [*sic*], a rhymer or chronicler to Conn Rory¹ Maguire, at Ballymoney, between Hollantide and Christmas last, and that he told this examinee that he dwelt with Maguire, and that he thinks he was brother to Teige Oge O'Keenan that went with Tyrone and died at Roome. He denies that ever Couconnagh brought him any letters or had anything to do with him, but he demanded a help of this deponent." *Cúchonnacht* was immediately arrested and brought to Dublin, where, on 26 June, 1615, he was put on the rack and what is euphemistically termed a "voluntary confession" regarding the plot was extorted from him (Cal. S. P., 1615-25, pp. 63, 72, 78).² A few weeks afterwards he was tried in Derry, and, with five others, found guilty of treason and hanged (*Archivium Hib.*, vi, 83 ff.).³

¹ *Leg.* Conor Roe?

² Attention has already been called to these State Paper references to the 'O Cianáins, partly by O'Grady (*Cat.* 385, n. 2), and partly by Walsh ("Flight of the Earls," 19 n.); but I have thought it worth while to bring both sets of references together here and to quote them somewhat more fully.

³ In the record of the trial *Cúchonnacht* is described as yeoman, of "Moygh," Co. Antrim.

INDEX OF PERSONS.

[The references are to the numbered paragraphs or groups of paragraphs.]

Mac Aodha (?), Pádraig, 2.
 Mac Aodhagáin, Baothghalach, 28.
 „ „ Baothghalach Dubh, 27.
 „ „ Cairbre, 27, 28.
 „ „ Donnchadh, 53.
 „ „ Eoghan (?), 13, 28.
 „ „ Pádraig, 22.
 „ „ *others*, 27, 28.
 Mac an Bhaird, Aodh mac Diarmada, 35.
 „ „ Conchubhar (*and* Conch.
 Ruadh), 35.
 „ „ Diarmaid, 35.
 „ „ Eoghan Ruadh, 35.
 „ „ Gofraidh, 35.
 „ „ Laoiseach, 35.
 „ „ Maolmuire, *and others*, 35.
 'O Breisleáin, Séamas, 58.
 Mac Bruaideadha, Maoilín 'Og, 24.
 „ „ Tadhg mac Dáire, 25.
 'O'n Cháinte, Fearfeasa, 43.
 „ „ Tadhg, *and others*, 43.
 Mac Céibhfhionnaigh, Seán, 46.
 'O Cianáin, Conchubhar, 48.
 „ Cúchonnacht, 60.
 „ Eoghan Caoch, 48.
 „ Tadhg, 60.
 'O Cionga, Ruaidhrí, 8.
 'O Cléirigh, Lughaidh, *and others*, 36.
 „ Maoleachlainn 'Og, 53.
 'O Cobhthaigh, Diarmaid, 41.
 „ Maoleachlainn, 41.
 „ Muircheartach, 41.
 Mac Colgáin, Seán Dubh, 45.
 Mac Conmidhe, Brian Gruamdha, 40.
 „ Flann, *and others*, 40.
 'O Corcraín, Brian, *and others*, 23.
 Mac (*or* Mág) Craith, Aodh, 47.
 „ „ Donnchadh an
 tSneachta, 34.
 „ „ Eoghan mac Donn-
 chadha, 33.
 „ „ Flann mac Aon-
 ghusa 'Oig, 19.
 „ „ Flann mac Eoghain,
 33.
 „ „ Ruaidhrí mac Aodha,
 9.
 „ „ Seán mac Aonghusa,
 9.

Mac an Chrosáin, Eoghan (?), 3.
 'O Dálaigh, ——— 11.
 „ Fionn, ——— 54.
 „ Aonghus [Fionn], 29.
 „ Aonghus [mac Daighre], 31.
 „ Aonghus Caoch, 30.
 „ Cearbhall (Buidhe), 32.
 „ Conchubhar, 52.
 „ Cúchonnacht, 50, 51.
 „ Giolla-íosa, 50, 51n.
 „ Maoleachlainn 'Og, 51, 52.
 „ *others*, 50.
 'O Duibhgeannáin, Cathal Dubh, 38.
 „ Dubhthach ['Og], 38.
 „ Fearfeasa, 38.
 „ Maolmuire, *and others*,
 38.
 'O Dubhthaigh, Eoghan, 55.
 Mac Eochadha, Domhnall, 14.
 „ Fearghal mac Luighdh-
 each, 14.
 „ Fearghal mac Tomás, 1.
 „ Fearghal 'Og, 14.
 „ Maolmuire mac Tuathail,
 12.
 „ Seán mac Donnchadha (?),
 4.
 „ Tuathal mac Maolmuire, 2.
 „ *others*, 14.
 'O Fialáin, Donnchadh, 21.
 Mac Fírbhisigh, Dubhaltach, 39.
 „ Giolla-íosa Mór, *and*
others, 39.
 Mag Fhlannchadha, Ruaidhrí, 53.
 „ Seán, *and others*, 53.
 Mac Gearailt, Dáibhí, Dubh, 49.
 „ Muiris mac Dháibhí
 Dhuibh, 26.
 'O Gnímh, ———, 37.
 „ Fearflatha, *and* Brian 'Og, 37.
 'O Heóghusa, Eochaidh, *and others*, 23.
 'O Hifeárnáin, Aithirne, 10.
 „ Aonghus Mac-raith, 6.
 „ Aonghus Ruadh, 16.
 „ Conchubhar (Ruadh), 18.
 „ Fearchar, 10.
 „ Mac-raith, *and others*, 10.
 „ Maolmuire mac Aonghusa,
 10.

INDEX OF PERSONS—*continued.*

'O Hifearnáin, Mathghamhain, 15.	'O Maoilchonaire, Muiris, 44
„ Muirheartach mac	„ Páidín 'Og, <i>and others</i> ,
„ Ruaidhrí, 18.	17.
„ Uilliam Mac-raith, 5.	„ Seán, 44.
'O Huiginn, Cormac, 59.	„ Tuileagna, 7.
„ Giolla-na-naomh, 59.	Mac Marcus, Ainnrias, 37.
„ Tadhg 'Og, <i>and others</i> , 59.	Mac Raith, <i>see</i> Mac Craith.
'O Luinín, Matha, 23.	Mac Rodáin, Uilliam, 56.
'O Maoilchonaire, Giolla-na-naomh	'O Ruanadha, Aodh, 42.
„ Caoch, 17.	„ Seán, <i>and others</i> , 42.
„ Iollann, 17.	Mac (or 'O ?) Seancháin, Diarmaid, 57.
„ Maoilín, 17, 20.	

Most of the individuals referred to in the above Index are Poets (*fileadha*). The following families were Historians (*seanchaidh*) by profession:—Mac Bruaideadha, 'O Cianáin (§ 60), 'O Cléirigh, 'O Duibhgeannáin, Mac Fírhisigh, 'O Luinín, and 'O Maoilchonaire. In English documents the term “rimers” is sometimes applied to historians as well as to poets. Irish historians not infrequently composed in verse, and the distinction between the *file* and the *seancha* was not very tightly drawn. References to Judges or “brehons” (*breitheamhain*) will be found under the following families:—Mac Aodhagáin, 'O Breisleáin, 'O Cléirigh (§ 53), Mag Fhlannchadha, and Mac Rodáin.

INDEX OF COUNTIES.

MUNSTER:—Clare, 24, 25, 44. Cork, 15, 29, 30, 43, 54, 57. Kerry, 26, 27, 29, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54. Limerick, 11, 19, 20, 34, 50, 51. Tipperary, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18, 28, 33, 47, 53, 55. Waterford, 9, 53.

LEINSTER:—Dublin, 4. Kildare, 2, 48. Kilkenny, 5, 6, 7, 53. King's Co., 3. Longford, 22. Westmeath, 8, 21, 28, 41, 59. Wexford, 12, 14, 31, 32. Wicklow 1, 7 (?), 12, 14, 42.

CONNACHT:—Galway, 13, 28, 35. Leitrim, 17 (?), 38. Roscommon, 17, 38. Sligo, 35, 38, 39, 40, 46, 59.

ULSTER:—Antrim, 37, 60. Armagh, 60. Donegal, 35, 36, 45, 47, 51. Down, 42. Fermanagh, 23, 52, 58, 60. Monaghan, 35, 40. Tyrone, 40, 56.

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

PROCEEDINGS,

SECTION C.

[ARCHÆOLOGY, LINGUISTIC, AND LITERATURE.]

VOL. XXXIII.

No. 1.	Some Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Ulster. FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.	6d.
„ 2.	On Certain Typical Earthworks and Ring-Walls in County Limerick. Part I. THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A.	1s.
„ 3.	Notes on Irish Money Weights and Foreign Coins current in Ireland. M. S. DUDLEY WESTROPP.	1s.
„ 4.	List of Books and Tracts Printed in Belfast in the Seventeenth Century. E. R. M'CCLINTOCK DIX.	6d.
„ 5.	Notes on Certain Irish Inscriptions. R. A. S. MACALISTER, D.LITT., F.S.A.	6d.
„ 6.	The History and Antiquities of Inis Cealtra. R. A. S. MACALISTER, D.LITT., F.S.A.	3s.
„ 7.	On the Ancient Deeds of the Parish of St. John, Dublin. REV. JOHN L. ROBINSON, M.A.	1s.
„ 8.	An Early Dublin Almanack. E. R. M'CCLINTOCK DIX.	1s.
„ 9.	On an Ogham Inscription recently discovered in County Wicklow. R. A. S. MACALISTER, D.LITT., F.S.A.	
„ 10.	Unpublished Letters of William Penn. REV. R. H. MURRAY, LITT.D.	
„ 11.	The Cathach of St. Columba. REV. H. J. LAWLOR, D.D., LITT.D.	5s.
„ 12.	On Certain Typical Earthworks and Ring-Walls in County Limerick. Part II. THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A.	1s.
„ 13.	On a Runic Inscription at Killaloe Cathedral.	6d.
„ 14.	Robert Downing's History of Louth.	
„ 15.	A Report on some Excavations recently conducted in Co. Galway. R. A. S. MACALISTER, LITT.D., F.S.A.	6d.
„ 16.	On some Associated Finds of Bronze Celts discovered in Ireland. E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, M.R.I.A., F.S.A.	
„ 17.	The Foundation of Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford. MOST REV. J. H. BERNARD, D.D.	6d.
„ 18.	On the Introduction of the Ass as a Beast of Burden into Ireland. REV. J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D., C.V.O.	
„ 19.	Additional Researches on the Black Pig's Dyke. W. F. DE VISMES KANE, M.A.	6d.

VOL. XXXIV.

No. 1.	Place-Names and Antiquities of S.E. Cork. REV. PATRICK POWER.	6d.
„ 2.	The Post-Assaying found on Dated Pieces of Plate in Trinity College, Dublin. REV. J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D., C.V.O.	6d.
„ 3.	The Ancient Sanctuaries of Knockainey and Clogher, County Limerick, and their Goddesses. THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A.	1s.
„ 4.	On some Interments at Mooretown, Co. Meath. R. A. S. MACALISTER, LITT.D., and J. R. D. HOLBY, M.B.	
„ 5.	The Discrepancies between the Dates of Gift and Hall-mark Dates found on Pieces of Plate belonging to Trinity College, Dublin. M. S. DUDLEY WESTROPP.	6d.
„ 6.	Associated Finds of Irish Neolithic Celts. E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, M.R.I.A., F.S.A.	6d.

VOL. XXXIV.—*continued*.

- No. 7. The Domnach Airgid.
E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, M.R.I.A., F.S.A., and
THE REV. PROFESSOR H. J. LAWLOR, D.D., LITT.D. 1s.
- „ 8. The Earthworks, Traditions, and the Gods of South-eastern Co. Limerick,
especially from Knocklong to Temair Erann.
THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A. 1s.
- „ 9. Place-Names and Antiquities of S.E. Cork.—Part II.
REV. PATRICK POWER. 1s.
- „ 10. Temair Breg : A Study of the Remains and Traditions of Tara.
R. A. S. MACALISTER, LITT.D., F.S.A. } 4s. 6d.
- „ 11. Notes on some Ogham Inscriptions, including two recently discovered.
R. A. S. MACALISTER, LITT.D., F.S.A. }

VOL. XXXV.

- No. 1. The Charters of the Cistercian Abbey of Duiske in the County of
Kilkenny.
CONSTANCE MARY BUTLER and JOHN HENRY BERNARD, D.D., D.C.L. 5s.
- „ 2. On the Pseudo-Augustinian Treatise, “De Mirabilibus Sanctae
Scripturae,” written in Ireland in the year 655.
M. ESPOSITO, B.A. } 1s.
- „ 3. The “Secrets of Salerno”: an Ancient French Manuscript in the
possession of the Royal Irish Academy.
M. ESPOSITO, B.A. }
- „ 4. Some Investigations on the Souterrain.
H. C. LAWLOR. 6d.
- „ 5. Richard Talbot, Archbishop and Chancellor (1418-1449).
JOHN HENRY BERNARD, D.D., D.C.L. 1s.
- „ 6. Notes on St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy, and his two Sermons on the
Passing of St. Malachy.
REV. H. J. LAWLOR, D.D., LITT.D. 1s.
- „ 7. Some Ancient Deeds of the Parishes of St. Catherine and St. James,
Dublin. } 1s.
- „ 8. Some Ancient Deeds of the Parish of St. Werburgh, Dublin.
HENRY F. TWISS, I.S.O., LITT.D. }
- „ 9. The Ancient List of the Coarbs of Patrick.
REV. H. J. LAWLOR, D.D., LITT.D., and R. I. BEST. 1s.
- „ 10. The Assembly-place of 'Oenach Cairbre and Síd Asail at
Monasteranenagh, County Limerick. } 1s.
- „ 11. Dun Crot and the “Harps of Clfu,” on the Galtees, County
Limerick. }
- „ 12. The Lansdowne Maps of the Down Survey.
THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A. 1s.
- THE EARL OF KERRY, D.S.O. 1s.

VOL. XXXVI (CURRENT VOLUME).

- No. 1. A Study of the Chronology of Bronze-Age Sculpture in Ireland.
M. L'ABBE BREUIL, HON. M.R.I.A., and R. A. S. MACALISTER,
LITT.D., F.S.A. } 1s.
- „ 2. Printing in Cork in the First Quarter of the Eighteenth Century
(1701-1725).
E. R. M'C. DIX. }
- „ 3. A Fresh Authority for the Synod of Kells, 1152.
REV. H. J. LAWLOR, D.D. 1s.
- „ 4. Cromm Cruaich of Magh Sleacht.
JOHN P. DALTON. 2s. 6d.
- „ 5. The “Mound of the Fiana” at Cromwell Hill, Co. Limerick, and a Note on
Temair Luachra.
THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A. 1s.
- „ 6. Irish Poets, Historians, and Judges in English Documents, 1538-1615.
THOMAS F. O'RAHILLY, M.A. 1s. 6d.

[List of Papers in the other Sections—A. Mathematical, Astronomical, and
Physical Science; and B. Biological and Chemical Science—may be obtained on
application.]

Sold by

HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO., 20, Nassau Street, Dublin; and
WILLIAMS & NORGATE, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.

AS 122 .D813 v.36 no.6 SMC
O'Rahilly, Thomas F.
Irish poets, historians, and
judges in English documents,
47088928

34444 01732 0037

ANQ-5762

Does Not Circulate

